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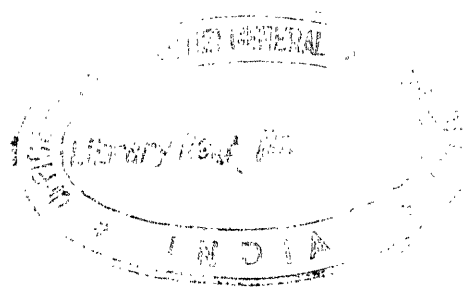
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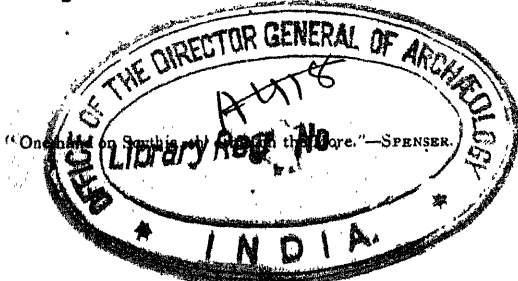
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THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1899.

THE RECENT FAMINE IN INDIA AND THE  
REPORTS OF THE SECOND FAMINE  
COMMISSION.\*

BY SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

THE object of this paper is to give a concise sketch of the operations undertaken by the Government of India for the relief of the recent famine, and a review of the conclusions drawn by the Commission which was appointed to report on those operations when the famine had come to an end. It is probably very well known that after the last great famine of 1876-78, a Report was drawn up by the first Famine Commission, embodying the conclusions to be drawn as to the best methods of administering relief, and the preventive measures which might be adopted to lessen the severity of such calamities. The same course has been followed on this occasion, and in 1897 the second Famine Commission was created, under the presidency of Sir Jas. Lyall, former Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, to examine how far recent experience had led to any modification or amplification of the recommendations of the first Commission. In a paper read before the Society of Arts in February, 1897, I explained what had been done to carry out those recommendations in the interval between 1880 and 1897, and in what state of pre-

\* For the discussion of this paper, see "Proceedings of the East India Association," elsewhere in the Review.—ED.

paration the country had been placed by the Government when this great calamity fell upon it. The second Commission's Report takes over the story at this point, shows how far these measures had been effectual in mitigating the results of drought, and in training the official staff to enter on the great enterprise of relief, and draws up conclusions which will tend to a still greater degree of preparation against future calamity.

It is, I think, unfortunate that the second Commission has not attempted to give a consecutive general account of the events of the famine, treated as a whole, and that the Report does not contain a map showing the area affected by the famine and indicating by colour the parts where different degrees of intensity prevailed. We have, however, the Reports of the different Provincial Governments, and we have also a general report for all India prepared by Mr. Holderness, who as Secretary to the Government of India was in charge of this department throughout the operations, and who afterwards as a member of the second Famine Commission brought his great experience to the aid of their deliberations. This Report, however, only brought the history down to the months of August or September, 1897, when the work of relief was not entirely closed, and it also does not contain a map. From these sources I have compiled a brief sketch of the main events in the general history of the famine as a whole. I shall then go on to summarize the opinions of the Commission as to the measures taken for relief in the different Provinces, and shall end by setting out the principal recommendations of the Commission as to the policy to be adopted by the Government in future.

Causes  
of the  
famine.

The immediate cause of the famine was the general failure and early cessation of the monsoon or autumn rains of 1896—the result of which was to cause a very extensive loss of the autumn crops and a serious reduction of the area in which it was possible to sow the winter crops. This failure of the rains extended with greater or less severity to

almost the whole of India, with the exception of the east and north of Bengal and the southern part of Madras. In the greater part of the tract lying between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, it had been preceded by bad crops and scarcity for at least the two previous years. Madras lost about one quarter of its normal food crop, the Punjab, Bengal and Bombay about one third, the North-West Provinces about two fifths, and the Central Provinces about three fifths. The loss was unequally distributed, and in at least sixteen districts (one in the Punjab, five in the North-West Provinces, five in the Central Provinces, two in Bombay, and three in Madras) less than a quarter of an average crop was harvested. It is computed that for the whole of India the food crop produced by the two harvests of 1896-97 was less than the average out-turn by one third, or 18,000,000 tons. To those who know the conditions which prevail in India, the narrow surplus remaining in normal years after the requirements of ordinary consumption have been supplied, the small and scattered stocks habitually retained in houses and granaries, and the absence of any habit of importing food from abroad, except from Burma, it must seem wonderful that it should have been possible for any Government or any machinery to avert the extreme mortality from starvation threatened by so frightful a disaster.

The calculation of the area over which famine prevailed and its classification as acute or intense, severe, and slight, are matters of great difficulty, and there is room for much difference in the valuations made by different authorities. Mr. Holderness in his narrative of the famine which brings the history of events down to September, 1897, by which time the operations for relief had nearly, but not quite, closed, remarks that

"it is impossible to exhibit in a statistical form, with any approach to accuracy, the areas affected by the almost universal drought and failure of crops."

The division into distressed and non-distressed districts is, he says, in a measure arbitrary, and the distinction

Area  
of the  
famine.



between severely and slightly distressed tracts is an uncertain one.

"It has more than once happened that a district has passed during the scarcity from the slightly affected to the severely distressed state, and back again to the former class on the harvesting of the cold weather crops. There is no clear criterion of this distinction, and more often than not the distinction is ignored in the Provincial returns."

On page 1 of his narrative he gives his calculation of the area and population of the distressed tracts, Province by Province. It amounts for British India, excluding Burma, to 189,000 square miles, with 45,200,000 inhabitants, besides 33,000 square miles, and 12,700,000 people "affected." But in the table in which he sets out the operations of relief, district by district and month by month, I find that the total area in which famine was combated was 202,215 square miles, with 46,495,000 inhabitants. Of this he classifies about 55,000 square miles in British India as the area of intense distress, with a population of about 11,000,000.

The second Commission, writing more than a year later, states that the famine of 1896-97

"affected an area of about 225,000 square miles in British India, and a population of 62,000,000. The area which was severely affected, and to which relief operations were chiefly confined, may be put roughly at 125,000 square miles, with a population of 34,000,000."

They do not, however, give us the data on which these figures are based. But in another place they give statistics of the area and population affected by famine in each Province, and show separately what they consider to be the worst part of each Province. According to these figures, the area where famine was intense in British India alone, excluding Native States and Burma, was 57,000 square miles, with a population of  $7\frac{3}{4}$  millions. It was severe in 44,000 square miles, with 24,000,000 inhabitants, and it was slight over an area of 124,500 square miles, with over 30,000,000 of people.

Both these authorities recognise the absence of any criterion for distinguishing the degrees of distress, nor did the first

Famine Commission lay down any principle on the subject, though they said that where the loss of the good harvest of the year had amounted to 75 per cent., intense distress might be looked for. But this is an anticipatory estimate, not a reasoned calculation after the event. It seems to me that both for statistical and administrative purposes it will be useful to lay down some standard in order to obtain uniformity of classification in the historical and comparative treatment of famines, and I suggest that the standard should be the proportion between the total population of a district, (or a part of a district if the whole district is not equally affected,) and the number who are in receipt of relief continuously during the three worst months of the famine. The first Commission suggested such a test when they spoke of a ratio of 15 per cent. as being indicative of intense, and 7 or 8 per cent. of severe famine, and I would propose to adopt a test of this kind by formulating the following rules. Where the proportion of people continuously on relief in any district for the three worst months is 10 per cent. of the whole population, or more, the famine is intense; where the proportion is from 5 to 10 per cent., the famine is severe; and it is slight when the proportion is below 5 per cent.; but unless it amounts to at least 1 per cent., I would not enter the district as in the famine area at all. Even this minimum may be thought low when we consider that in England we have about 3 per cent. of the population permanently on poor-law relief, and that though in India people of this class are generally provided for by the charity of their relations or neighbours, yet in times of extreme scarcity public and private charity dries up, and the relief of the regular paupers falls upon the State.

There are two objections which may fairly be taken to this proposed classification. One is that it assumes that relief is given everywhere on the same principle and with the same liberality, so that an equal proportion of population on relief always indicates equal tension and distress. The assumption is a large one, and in former times, when

*Objections  
to the  
proposed  
classification.*

the principles on which relief should be given were unsettled, it would have led to incorrect conclusions; but now, as the result of long discussion and wide experience, a fair degree of uniformity in the treatment of famine has been attained, and a still greater degree will be reached if the recommendations of the second Commission are carried out. In the present case the assumption seems to work fairly well with two exceptions: (1) In Madras relief was undoubtedly given at one time with greater liberality than elsewhere, and a disproportionate number of people were attracted to the works, so that in Madras a high ratio of numbers on relief does not indicate the same degree of intensity as it does in Bombay or elsewhere; (2) it was found extremely difficult to induce the hill tribes to accept the relief offered them, so that when these tribes were attacked by severe famine, as was the case in some parts of Bombay, and almost all parts of the Central Provinces, the ratio of numbers on relief was lower than it should have been, and indicates, especially in the Central Provinces, a greater degree of intensity than the same ratio does in the North-West Provinces or elsewhere.

The second objection is that this criterion does not take sufficient cognisance of the duration of intense or severe famine when it is prolonged beyond three months, and it treats any period of three months as equal to any other period of three months. Now it makes a great difference to the acuteness of the distress if its worst period is in the healthy dry months between January and May, and in the unhealthy wet malarious months between July and September; and the longer the intensity lasts, the less able are the sufferers to resist its influences, and the more likely are the officials and their establishments to break down. The North-West Provinces, for example, had five bad months, from February to May; the Punjab only three, January to March; Bengal had five, March to July; Madras had three, June to August; Bombay had six, February to April and July to September; while the

Central Provinces had eight months, from March to October, during which the acuteness of distress varied but little. Obviously, both as regards the period when the suffering was worst and the duration of the suffering, the Central Provinces were worst off, but the figures when treated as I have suggested give no indication of this. The objection might be met by colouring the map with a deeper shade of blackness for the tracts where intense suffering lasts longest, but the true answer is to admit that no tabulation of figures can supply all the information that is required or supersede the necessity of reading the detailed Reports.

I have drawn up a large-scale map, a reduction of which has been prepared for the Review, to which I invite attention as a graphic and fairly accurate representation, subject to these two objections, of the area covered by the recent famine, and the degrees of the severity with which the famine prevailed. As already explained, the colouring, which is identical for the worst parts of Madras and the worst parts of the Central Provinces, gives a rather exaggerated impression of Madras, and underrates the acuteness of the pressure in the Central Provinces. Moreover, I have been obliged to treat each district as a homogeneous unit because the data do not exist for distinguishing the pressure where the various parts of one district were differently affected. If the Government of India adopt my suggestion, and lay down any such criteria for differentiating areas, in future famines it will be possible to approach more closely to a true classification of the degrees of famine. But for the present famine I believe this to be as correct a representation as we can get; and as I used a somewhat similar, though less clearly cut, rule for classifying the areas in the previous famine of 1876-78, the figures given by the table which I have drawn up are more directly comparable with those than any others could be.

According to this table, the total area of British territory

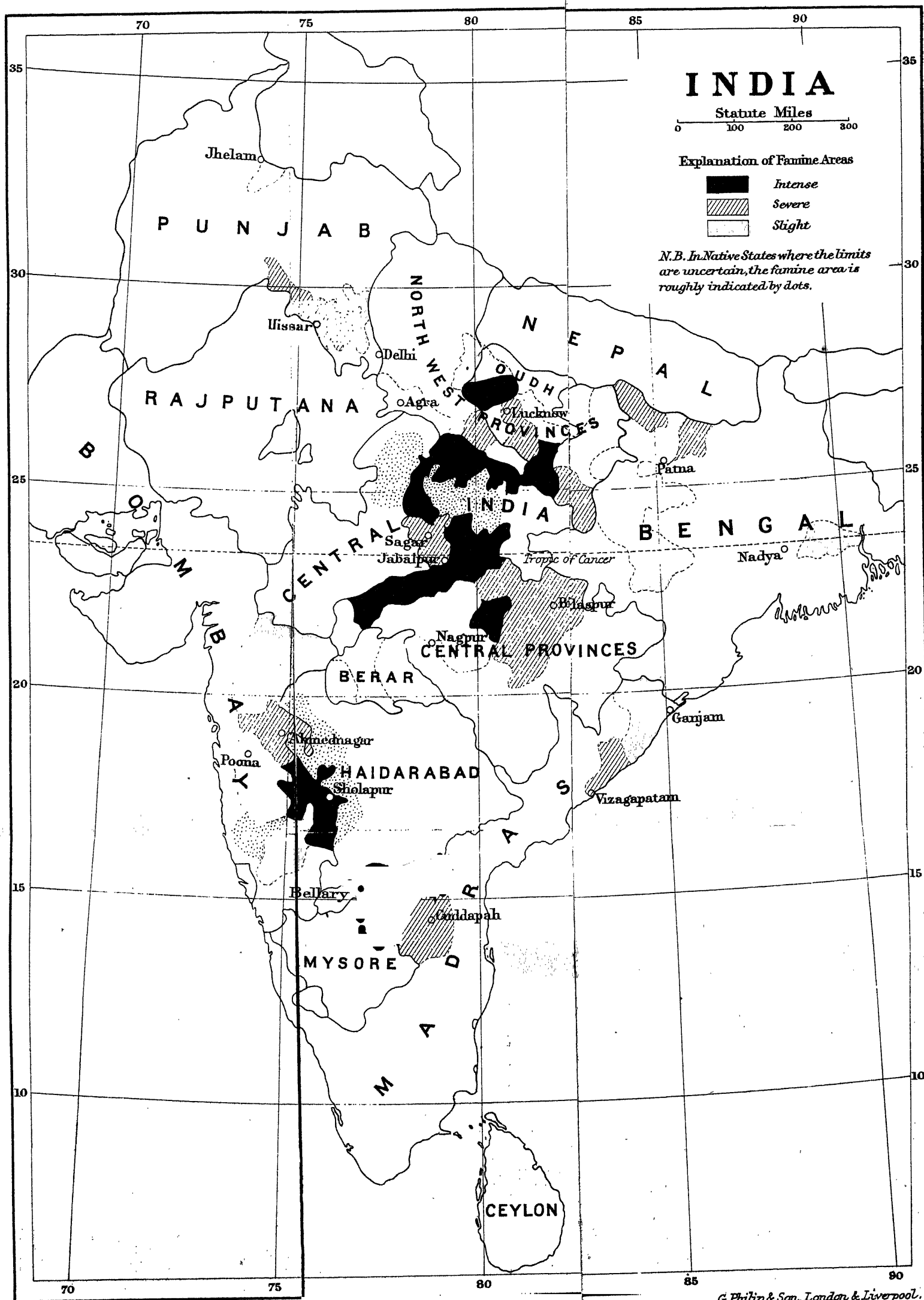
Map and  
table  
illustrat-  
ing the  
area and  
intensity  
of the  
famine.

*The Recent Famine in India.*

TABLE SHOWING AREA AND POPULATION AFFECTED BY FAMINE.

	INTERSE.						SEVERE.						SLIGHT.						TOTAL.			
	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 5 to Col. 4	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 10 to Col. 9.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 15 to Col. 14.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population.	No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 20 to Col. 19.		
North-West Provinces ...	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
Bengal ...	6	15,591	4,961	976	20	5	10,305	4,183	266	6	14	26,163	15,685	292	19	24	52,059	24,829	1,534	6'2		
Punjab ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	6,866	4,661	360	7	7	23,962	11,853	335	19	9	30,828	16,514	695	4'1		
Cent. Provinces	5	15,883	2,354	297	13	4	29,128	3,679	279	8	5	19,452	2,602	94	3'5	4	11,725	2,811	125	4'4		
Berar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	8,232	1,289	22	17	3	8,232	1,289	22	1'7		
Bombay	2	10,169	1,547	243	16	1	6,645	889	87	9	5	31,365	5,586	138	2'5	8	48,179	8,022	468	5'8		
Madras ...	3	18,015	2,427	413	17	2	17,100	3,169	193	6	1	17,242	1,943	40	2'1	6	52,357	7,539	646	8'5		
Total for 1896-97	16	59,658	11,289	1,929	17	14	75,261	17,357	1,251	7	38	132,924	40,993	980	2'4	68	267,843	69,639	4,160	6		
Total for Famine of 1876-78 ...	...	105,000	19,000	...	...	...	102,000	29,000	...	...	...	50,000	10,000	...	...	...	257,000	58,000	...	...		

N.B.—In columns 4, 5, 9, 10, 14, 15, 19, and 20, thousands are omitted.



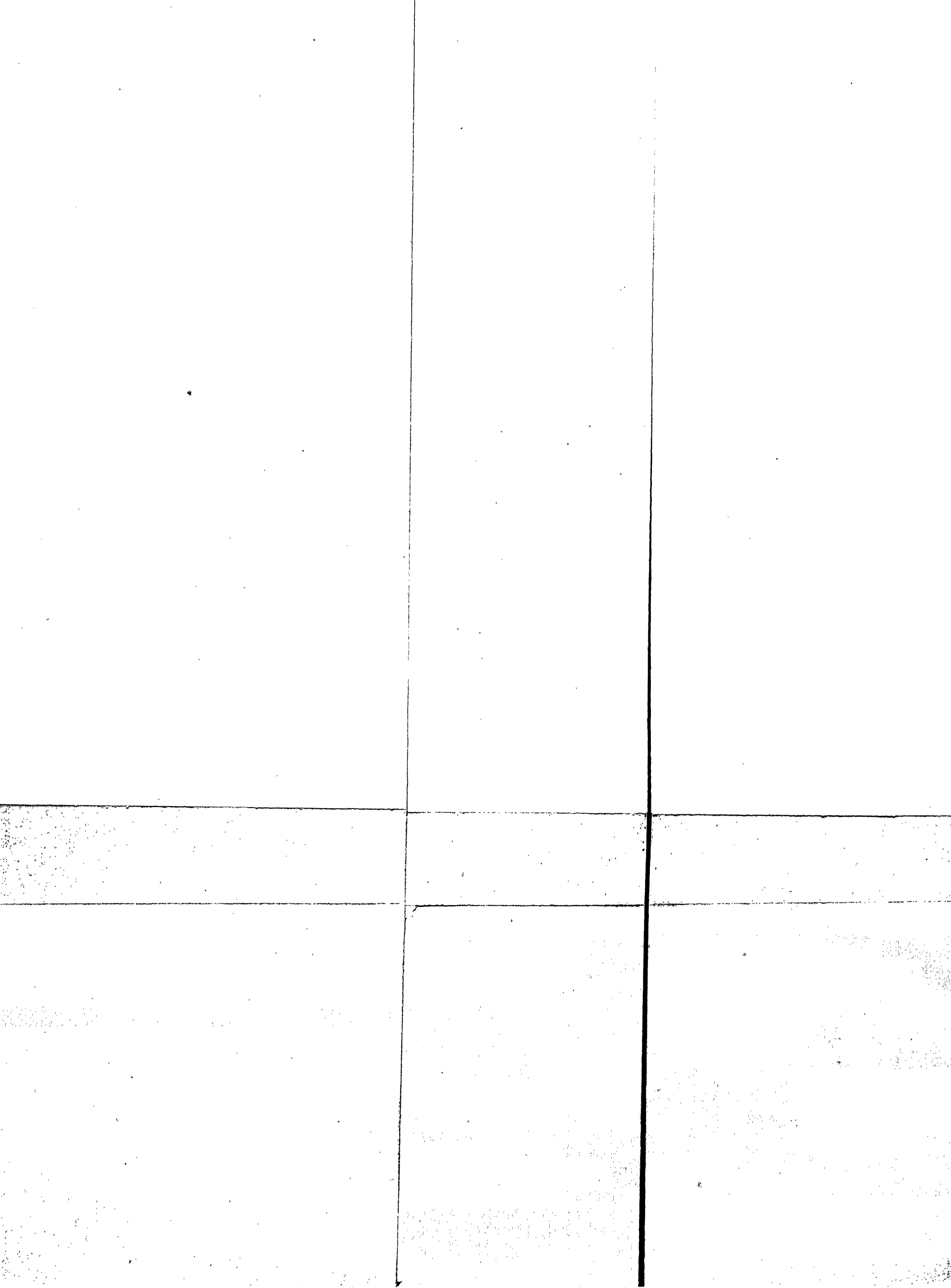
# INDIA

Statute Miles  
0 100 200 300

## Explanation of Famine Areas

- Intense
- Severe
- Slight

*N.B. In Native States where the limits are uncertain, the famine area is roughly indicated by dots.*



visited by famine was 268,000 square miles, containing a population of 70,000,000; in about half of this area, with two thirds of this population, the famine was slight; that is to say, in no district comprised in it were there for three consecutive months as much as 5 per cent. of the population on relief. In 60,000 square miles, with  $11\frac{1}{4}$  millions of people, it was intense, the ratio of numbers on relief rising above 10 per cent. That ratio during the three worst months was 17 per cent. of the population of the whole area, and it rose as high as 20 per cent. in the North-West Provinces. In 75,000 square miles, with  $17\frac{1}{4}$  million inhabitants, the famine was severe; that is to say, in every district the number on relief during the three worst months was between 5 and 10 per cent. of the entire population. The bottom line of the table shows the corresponding areas and population in the famine of 1876-78, as calculated by the first Famine Commission, on data which were rougher, but which corresponded somewhat with those which I have used for the present occasion. The total area affected was very nearly the same as now, 257,000 square miles against 268,000; but the population who suffered was smaller by 12,000,000, being 58,000,000 then against 70,000,000 now. The areas of intensity and severity were estimated to be much larger in the earlier famine, as well as the number of the people contained in those areas; but the area in which the famine caused slight distress was much smaller than on the last occasion. There is little doubt that we may attribute this to the action of the railways in equalizing prices; they spread the scarcity over a much wider area, but prevented its becoming so intense as it was on the former occasion, when the means of conveying a food-supply were much more deficient.

Having thus calculated the area in which severe famine prevailed, the next point is to show to what extent relief was afforded. The first Famine Commission had estimated, on the basis of previous experience, that the proportion of the population in receipt of relief would not exceed 15 per

Amount  
of relief  
afforded.



cent. in the worst months, or 7 to 8 per cent. for the whole period of distress, that the average number of persons on relief would not exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions continuously for one year, and that each person so relieved might cost Rs. 50 per head. In 1896-97 during the three worst months (May, June and July) an average number of 3,500,000 persons were on relief, or about 6 per cent. of the affected population, and during the period of twelve months, from November, 1896, to October, 1897, the average number was 2,290,000, or about 3.5 per cent. In the parts where the famine was most intense the ratio rose very high. In the Bundelkhand districts it was 22.8 per cent., and in Banda it rose to 32.9 per cent., for three months: in the Madras Deccan it was 20.8 per cent.: in the Bijapur and Sholapur districts of Bombay it was 15.7 per cent.: in the Jabalpur division it was 11.8 per cent.: and in the Damoh district it was 22.8 per cent. Counting each person relieved for one day as a unit, the total number amounted to 821,000,000 units, or about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  millions a day for a whole year. The total cost of relief given on works and gratuitously was Rx. 7,270,000, or Rx.  $32\frac{1}{2}$  per head. Thus the forecast of the first Commission was found fairly accurate as regards numbers of persons and duration of distress, but the estimate of cost was considerably in excess of the actual. The report of the second Commission leaves no doubt that the principal cause of this saving was the greater efficiency and preparedness of the Administration, due to the experience which had been gathered in former famines, and to the extent to which the recommendations of the first Commission had been carried out.

The employment of labourers on public works, and the grant of money or food to the weaker sufferers in their homes or in poor-houses, were the chief, but not the only, means of affording relief. The remissions or suspensions of the Government revenue amounted to Rx. 8,390,000, and as these were granted to the land-holders on the con-

dition that they should remit or suspend their corresponding claims for rent from their tenants, this form of assistance was very widely spread, and reached almost all tenants who were in difficulties. Loans and advances were freely given for agricultural improvements, and especially for the digging of wells, to the amount of Rx. 1,370,000, and the charitable assistance received from all quarters, and especially from England's magnificent Mansion House Fund, amounted to about Rx. 2,000,000. Altogether the total outlay on the part of the Government to relieve famine may be reckoned at very nearly Rx. 20,000,000.

As the principal object of Government action in time of famine is to save life, the first question one naturally puts to oneself is, How far was that object attained? In 1876-78, as we all remember, there was a great mortality, and the measures which have been taken since then to put the country in a state of preparedness, to frame plans, and to mobilize forces in order to fight the enemy, must be held to have failed or to have succeeded principally according as they satisfy this test of having kept down the mortality. But the test must be applied with a clear understanding of the conditions of the problem. The first Commission wrote :

"The hope that any human endeavours will altogether prevent an increase of mortality during a severe famine is untenable. . . . No imaginable system of relief will altogether meet all the various degrees of privation and suffering which a famine produces, and which are all more or less prejudicial to health and life."

The deaths reported as due directly to starvation have been extremely few—not more than one or two verified cases have been returned by any Province in a month, except by the Central Provinces, where the verification was less careful, and where some considerable portion of the starving people who flowed in from the Native States died by the wayside or in poor-houses as a direct consequence of famine. But the chief source of information on this subject is drawn from the Mortuary Returns, which, though by no means of unimpeachable authority, are prepared with a

Mortality  
caused,  
directly or  
indirectly,  
by the  
famine.

considerable approach to accuracy, but are less trustworthy in Bengal and almost worthless in Madras. These show, as might be expected, a decided rise in the rate of mortality in nearly all the districts where famine was intense or severe; but they also show in many instances an equally high rate in districts which were only slightly distressed. Thus in the North-West Provinces the normal death-rate was doubled or trebled in certain months in eight or nine of the most afflicted districts, but a very high rate of 8·33 per cent. was recorded in the month of October, 1896, in the Bareilly district, where the direst stress of famine was hardly felt, and the highest rates of all were returned for the month of October, 1897, after the famine was officially declared to be closed. In the entire Province in 1896-7 the number of deaths exceeded the average by 153,000; in the famine area of 25,000,000 souls the death-rate was higher by 6·74 per mille, which represents an excess mortality of 168,000. In the Central Provinces the death-rate in the affected tract rose from a normal 33·7 per mille to 49·3 in 1896, and 69·3 in 1897, which represents an excess mortality of about 143,000 and 381,000 respectively. Of the latter figure about 60,000 were due to cholera, but the greater part of the rest of the deaths were attributed to fevers and bowel complaints—that is, either to diseases brought on or aggravated by unwholesome or insufficient food, or else to the weakening of the constitution, which rendered it unable to contend against the influences of the climate. In Bengal and the Punjab the season was a healthy one, and the distress did not last long enough to materially enfeeble the physical condition of the people, except in the one district of Hissar. In the Madras area there were serious outbreaks of cholera and small-pox; but the normal figures are so far below the truth that it is useless to compare them with the Famine figures. In Bombay the excess of deaths over the normal in the nine distressed districts was calculated at 91,000. The Reports lay very little stress on the

decrease in the birth-rate, which was found in 1876-78 to be one of the most grievous sequelæ of the famine (in Madras alone the normal number of births was reduced by 800,000), and some do not mention the question at all. As far as figures are given, the decrease appears to have been very slight up to September, 1897, but this is an effect which would naturally not show itself fully till the year following the famine. Looking, however, to the death-rate alone, my conclusion is that in the three Provinces where the famine was most intense, North-West Provinces, Central Provinces, and Bombay, the death-roll increased by about 800,000; but this includes those who fell from outbreaks of cholera and small-pox, as well as from the secondary effects of insufficient and innutritious food, and privations of all kinds following on the great rise in prices. If we compare this with the return of the losses in the previous famine of 1876-78, which totalled up to about 5,000,000, we see at a glance what a great advance has been made in the ability and skill of the Government of India to deal with the calamity of a first-class famine.

Having thus given the salient points of the history of the last famine, I turn to the report of the second Commission. The mandate entrusted to them was to investigate the famine relief measures taken in 1897 in the several Provinces, to review the lessons to be learnt from those operations, and to record recommendations that may prove useful in future famines. I will deal first with their judicial summing up of the merits and defects of the manner in which the Government of each Province dealt with the varying conditions presented to it, and secondly with their recommendations as to the treatment of relief operations in future.

Chapter V. of the Report treats of the degree of success which has attended the measures adopted for relief, and of the degree of economy with which these measures were carried out. The Commission disclaim any attempt to draw a comparison between the different Provinces, but

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they do express an opinion, as I think they were bound to do, if in any case the measures of a Provincial Government have seemed to them to err by excess or default, in a manner which should be avoided in future.

North-  
West  
Provinces.

With regard to the North-West Provinces, they criticise the famine administration in three respects. The first is with regard to the measures taken in March, 1897, when the spring harvest was ripe, and again at the commencement of the rainy season in June, to induce the labourers to leave the works and return to field occupations by increased severity as to the task exacted and the wage paid. They doubt the policy of such measures, unless unreasonable disinclination has actually been shown to leave the works, and they fear that it must have tended unduly to reduce the number of weakly labourers and dependents. They hold that, except perhaps in the case of very laxly and profusely managed relief works, the cultivators and agricultural labourers leave the works as soon as they see their way to getting their living away from them, and often on the mere chance of so doing. Mr. Holderness, however, dissents from this criticism, believing that there was evidence that in some parts the people had grown so accustomed to the system of State relief that they would prefer to remain on relief works rather than return to their villages and seek employment in field work. The risk of increasing tasks and stiffening rates is not, he thinks, so grave as that of allowing the people to remain on the works when the land has to be cultivated. Secondly, they remark on the system known as the "modified intermediate system," because it occupied an intermediate position between ordinary piecework and the taskwork methods enjoined by the first Commission and by the Famine Codes. This system, which provided a low-wage basis without allowances to dependents or weekly gangs, and enjoined a Sunday rest without a Sunday wage, does not seem to them a safe form of relief even in slightly distressed districts. It assumes that the labourer is efficient and industrious, and will work to the

utmost to earn a wage sufficient to support his family and provide a margin ; whereas it is the least-efficient labourers who are the first to lose employment and to require relief, and these cannot be expected to do more than earn enough for themselves. The Provincial Government, on the other hand, urge that though it is unsuited to districts where acute distress prevails, and though it necessitates the employment of a larger staff than the taskwork system of the Code, it was adequate as a means of relief in the localities where it was put in force, efficient as a test, and effective and economical in securing a fair out-turn of work at reasonable rates. The Commission rejoin that they have no doubt it was effective and economical from the point of view of the out-turn of work, but they are not so sure that it adequately relieved all the dependents and the inefficient labour class. Thirdly, they point out that the average wage of the labourer on relief worked out to 13'3 pies, or a little over one anna a day, and that for a dependent to only 4'5 pies ; and they consider on a comparison of the figures of other Provinces, and of the price of food, that these rates were too low for safety. They admit that there is much conflict of evidence on this subject, many good witnesses holding that the wage was sufficient to maintain the labourers in health and strength, while others denied this, and some asserted that they were only enough to keep body and soul together. They also maintain that the conversion rate for calculating the money value of the grain wage was too low, a rate having been assumed for the price of good grain much cheaper than the actual rate at which labourers could buy food ; but they do not seem to me to have laid sufficient stress on this important blot, the explanation of which is at present obscure. They sum up by saying that relief was begun in time, that the degree of success in saving life and relieving distress at a comparatively small cost was very great, that the organization of gratuitous relief in towns and villages was excellent, that the Government showed incessant activity and watchfulness,

a constant grasp of the situation, skill in combining all forms of relief, and a great power of enlisting the services of the leaders of native society. Their general verdict is that "the result was a conspicuous success and a great administrative feat."

**Bengal.**

In Bengal the distress was much less acute than in the North-West Provinces, and the area of severe famine was much smaller, extending only to the districts of North Behar. Relief measures were commenced there in good time and on an ample scale, and the North-West Provinces system of classifying labourers and wage scale was adopted. In the Chota Nagpur Division, though actual famine as tested by the numbers in receipt of relief affected only two of the Districts and was slight in them, the same difficulty was experienced in dealing with the Aboriginal tribes as was felt more acutely elsewhere and the relief was not as adequate nor did the operations work as smoothly, as in Behar. After much solicitation the Government allowed a small quantity of grain to be imported by State machinery into Palaman, and the Commission consider that they carried reluctance too far in this instance: they do not however mention that the grain so imported was not wanted, and was afterwards sold at a loss. But the Commission find as their general conclusion that the operations in Bengal were eminently successful both in saving life and in mitigating distress, and that on the whole this result was attained with a proper regard to economy.

**Central  
Provinces.**

It was in the Central Provinces, if anywhere, that the campaign against famine failed to attain its full degree of success, but the circumstances there were of great and exceptional difficulty. A large portion of the Province, the Jabalpur division, had suffered from bad seasons for three or four years, and had lost at least half its usual crop in 1894, and again in 1895, so that when the great failure of 1896 supervened, the resources of the agriculturists were already exhausted, and the labouring classes were reduced to destitution. The Province is not strongly staffed; some

of the best officers were cut off by cholera or other diseases at an early period, and those of the seniors who remained had not the same experience of famine administration which was possessed in other quarters, and had not been accustomed to look on famine as a contingency for which they had always to be on the watch. Of all the famines which have devastated India during this century, only one (that of 1868-69) touched the Central Provinces, and that slightly; and the first Commission included among the tracts which were secure from drought "the upper valley of the Nerbudda." They derived this conclusion partly from the climatic conditions of the tract, partly from the great extent of forest and the sparse population of the hill tribes, which usually derives a large part of its sustenance from roots and other forest produce; yet it was in this upper valley of the Nerbudda and among these hill tribes that the famine was most intense. The Province therefore entered on the campaign worse equipped than any other part of India, the diagnosis of loss was less accurate, and the presentiment of danger less keen than elsewhere. The Commission consider first that the high local authorities failed to grasp the situation which existed in the end of 1895 and the beginning of 1896, as correctly as was done in the adjoining districts of Bundelkhand, where the whole machinery of famine relief was early brought into play. Secondly, after the failure of the rains in 1895 the forecast was too sanguine, and too much reliance was placed on the hope or chance of coming harvests turning out good, and compensating for past bad ones. They hold, thirdly, that the organization for carrying out village relief was introduced too late, and, fourthly, the village dole was too small; but tables contained in the Report show that it was a dole of 20 ozs. of grain as against 18 in the North-West Provinces and 17 in Bengal. Fifthly, they say that the taskwork wage was dangerously low considering the dearness of food and the reduced condition in which the people came on the works, though it was the same wage as was



given in the North-West Provinces, or better, in so far as it was based on actual prices of food, and not on a rate cheaper than really existed ; and, sixthly, that it was unwise to follow the precedent set by the North-West Provinces of stiffening the task by the substitution of a piecework system in districts where the famine was so intense, in order to induce the labourers to leave the works and return to the cultivation of their fields. I do not think the facts in this case support the charge, but it would take too long to explain fully what I believe to be the real state of the case. Lastly, they consider that the high rate of mortality which I have already adverted to was partly due to these defects in administration, and they sum up by saying that while they recognise the great exertions of the Chief Commissioner and his officers—exertions involving much exposure and incessant toil—and causing loss of life or health to many officers, and while they do not overlook the many special difficulties which had to be met, they regret to have to express the opinion that the degree of success in the saving of life and the relief of distress was not all that it might have been.

I have shown by my comments that I dissent from some of the conclusions of the Commission in some respects, and Mr. Holderness, to whom I have already referred as the man who is by far the highest authority on the history of the recent famine, demurs to the severity of their remarks. He refers to the fact that the high death-rate was not peculiar to those who were specially affected by the famine, but was shared by all classes of the population. He quotes with approval—and I desire to add the expression of my own complete assent—the following passages from the Chief Commissioner's report :

"The habits of large classes of the people of the Central Provinces are such that the task of helping them is one of almost insuperable difficulty. In a poor backward and thinly populated Province, where the Government establishments engaged in the work of famine relief have to cover extensive areas in their circuits, it is impossible to watch minutely over the application of help to its proper purpose : no device could ensure

that a dole given to a pauper to last him a month, in a district like Mandla or Bilaspur, should not be squandered in riotous living for a day, nor could any action of the State prevent the Gond and Baiga from roaming the forests, and living on their produce until an exclusive course of such a diet reduced them to a condition in which no assistance was able to save them from death. In the aboriginal tracts nothing would induce the people to resort to relief works while strong and fit for labour. . . . The difference between this Province and the rest of India may shortly be expressed by saying that here relief had to be forced upon the people, while elsewhere the people expected and readily availed themselves of the relief provided for them."

And Mr. Holderness sums up thus :

"In my opinion, though it is permissible to hope that a greater degree of success would with the experience of the late famine in the Central Provinces be attained in combating another famine of like severity and magnitude in that Province, anything approaching to complete success must under the conditions of the task be regarded as impossible. . . . In Madras the relief problem was of no exceptional complexity or magnitude. In the Central Provinces the problem was one of the most difficult which has ever taxed an Indian Government."

In Madras the crops of the preceding years had been **Madras** unusually good, and the famine was confined to four districts in the Deccan, and two on the northern seacoast. Alarm was taken early, and relief works were started in good time, though the organization of village relief was a little late. The Commission hold that the conditions as to task and wage were at first rather severe, but in the end of April they were somewhat unduly relaxed, causing a huge increase of numbers on relief. These concessions were withdrawn in July and August, and this, coupled with the results of a good monsoon, rapidly sent the people to their homes. The additional mortality was slight, except in the two districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, where cholera and small-pox were rife ; but the death-statistics in Madras are so inaccurate that no stress can be laid on these figures. They conclude by saying that, for a famine of no long duration and of no exceptional severity, the measures adopted proved as a whole adequate and successful, but that there was not the same regard for strict economy which was evinced in other Provinces.

In Bombay, as in Madras, the previous season had been **Bombay**.

favourable; but in 1896 the failure of the crops in two of the Deccan districts was almost total, and the famine was intense in that region, and severe elsewhere, in hilly tracts, and on the Western Ghats, where rain had never been known to fail before, and which (like the upper valley of the Nerbudda) had been classed by the first Commission as immune from the visitation of famine. The treatment of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting these tracts presented the same difficulties as have been described in the Central Provinces. The death-rate rose considerably above the normal, and while much of the mortality was due to climatic conditions, much was owing to the weakening of the powers of the people to withstand disease, and this was largely the case in the hill tracts. The especial characteristic of the relief system in Bombay was the adherence to the policy of massing the labourers on large works—a policy originally adopted by this Government in 1876, and strongly supported by the first Commission—and which, combined with liberal arrangements for the feeding of the children and dependents of the labourers on the works, and the gratuitous relief of others in their homes, was both successful and economical. The conclusion of the Commission is that the

‘administration of relief in the Bombay Presidency was distinctly successful both as regards the saving of human life and the mitigation of distress. In some respects it may have fallen short of the ideal standard to be aimed at, but as a whole the measure of success attained was very great.’

I am not quite sure what this reservation points to, but apparently the weak elements in the policy of this Government were the smallness of the suspensions and remissions of Land Revenue, and the want of works subsidiary to the large relief works, to be opened when the heat became excessive and the rainy season approached.

**Berar.** Berar had never before been afflicted by famine, and even in 1896-97 the distress was nowhere severe except in a hilly tract called the Melghat, inhabited by aboriginal tribes, Korkoos and Gonds. These are,—

"people of the poorest description, shy and diffident, living from hand to mouth with no resources, and averse from any work except fitful labour in the forests."

The same difficulty was felt here as in the Central Provinces as to how to administer relief. It is estimated that in one way or other 25 per cent. of the population received assistance of some sort, but even so the relief was not sufficient to save life or to relieve distress. The Commission write that

"the mortality was probably unavoidable; so far as our experience goes such mortality is inseparable from famine conditions when they occur among people similar in habits to the tribes inhabiting the Melghat."

With regard to the Punjab, I am compelled to differ in <sup>Punjab.</sup> some respects from the Commission, and to fancy that the intimate acquaintance which the President of the Commission had with this Province led him to form a rather disproportionate view of the extent and area of distress. The Report speaks of the area of severe distress as comprising most of the Hissar district and portions of the Gurgaon, Rohtak, Dehli and Umballa districts—an area of 10,000 square miles, with  $2\frac{3}{4}$  millions of population, among whom measures of relief on an extensive scale were undertaken. I know of no canon or test by which this computation can be supported. It is true that in the Hissar district 8 per cent. of the population were on relief for three continuous months, and in June the number rose to 9 per cent. But in Rohtak and Kurnal the ratio was only a little over 1 per cent., and in Gurgaon, Dehli, and Umballa the total numbers on relief never reached that ratio, and never exceeded 5,000. After the gigantic numbers with which we have been dealing in other Provinces, it is impossible to hold that relief administered on this scale justifies the classification of any of these districts, except Hissar, as within the area of severe famine. In Hissar it was severe, and in the Gujrat district, where the ratio of people on relief rose to nearly 5 per cent., it was slight; but the largeness of the numbers there (34,000 for the three worst months) was mainly due to the fact that the excavation of the new Jhelum Canal was going on there.

and was treated as a famine relief work, attracting able-bodied labourers from other parts of the Province as well as from the Gujrat district. The Commission's conclusion is that the

"measures adopted by the State, with the object of relieving distress and saving life, were eminently successful."

There was a slight increase in the death-rate in five of the affected districts; in four there was a decrease below the normal. It was only in Hissar that the increase was considerable, and there it was mainly due to malarial fever acting on constitutions enfeebled by a prolonged period of privation.

This completes my summary of that part of the Commission's Report which deals with the degree of success that has attended the measures adopted by the different Provinces. It remains now to turn to the third part of my task, which is to present, as briefly as possible, those recommendations for future guidance in which the experience now obtained has led the second Commission to advise any departure from the principles laid down by the first Commission and embodied in the famine codes which were in force when the recent famine began.

Differences between the recent famine and its predecessors. The hill tribes.

There are two salient points to notice: the difference between the difficulties felt in the recent famine from those felt during its predecessors, and the difference between the measures now adopted and those advocated by the first Commission. The first is the great difficulty experienced in attempting to relieve the hill tribes. The second is the large proportion which gratuitous relief assumed as compared with relief given in return for labour. As to the first, I have said enough in dealing with the Central Provinces, Bengal, Bombay, and Berar, to indicate the nature of those difficulties which spring from the sparseness of the population, their shy and diffident character, the extent to which in ordinary times they rely only partially on food crops and eke out their subsistence by collecting the natural products of the forest, and the fact that they have hitherto

escaped from severe distress and have not acquired the habit, which sad calamity has drilled into the people of the plain, of relying on the State for relief. The conclusions of the Commission are as follows. Local inquiry must begin early ; reliance must not be placed on the usual self-acting test that those who want help will ask for it, and endure some discomfort to get it ; there must be careful selection of (1) those who are incapable of work, (2) those who are capable of work and who are absolutely without resources, and (3) those who require only partial relief. For the first class gratuitous relief in their homes must be provided. For the second relief works must be opened near their villages, reserved for the employment of these people alone ; they should be village improvement works where severe tasking should not be enforced, but the people should be under one of their own headmen. For the third class the best form of relief is the sale of food grain at cheap rates in shops specially opened for the purpose. Great care should be taken to secure for relief of this kind the supervision of officers who know the hill tribes and are in sympathy with them. The recommendations conclude as follows :

“ The distress in hill and jungle regions generally comes to an acute pitch all at once during the rains, and it is just then that the distribution of relief becomes a task of immense difficulty. It is therefore a matter of immense importance that all the details of the relief organization should be carefully thought out and arranged during the hot weather, so that when with the advent of the rains distress suddenly assumes large proportions, the officers in charge should be in a position to cope with it in an adequate manner.”

These recommendations seem to me sound and important. They touch the one point where, in my judgment, the forecast of the first Commission was inadequate, and the principles they laid down incomplete. It may be unlikely in the future that such distress should again occur among these tribes, as it has hitherto been unknown in the past, but none the less it may recur, and preparation should be made for it. We must, however, realize that, whatever efforts may be made, nothing like the same success can be achieved among the scattered population of the hills as among the denser population of the rest of India.

Gratui-  
tous relief.

The most remarkable difference between the system adopted in the recent famine and its predecessors was the extent to which gratuitous relief was given to distressed people at their homes, or to the dependents of labourers living with them on the works. Lavish as was the administration of relief in Bengal in 1873-74, the number who received it gratuitously was only 40 per cent. of the whole number on relief, and in the North-West Provinces at the same time it was 2 per cent. In the famine of 1876-78, 33 per cent. of the persons relieved received gratuitous help. The ratio in Madras rose to 40 per cent., and in Bombay it was as low as 10 per cent. There was nothing on which the first Famine Commission laid greater stress than on the necessity of searching out and relieving at their homes those incapable of work, the children, infirm, sick, old and house-ridden, and those who are required to attend to them, and of establishing an organization of inquiry and house inspection for this purpose; and these instructions have borne abundant fruit on the present occasion. The total number of people relieved gratuitously during the recent famine was 42 per cent. of the whole number during the entire period. In the latter months it rose to a much higher ratio, for while the able-bodied left for work on their fields, the numbers who received gratuitous doles did not diminish, and in September, 1897, there were 400,000 on gratuitous relief, against 162,000 on relief works. The ratios varied much in different Provinces, and were highest in Bengal, the Central Provinces, and the North-West Provinces; lowest in the Punjab, Madras, and Bombay. But in order to understand the figures and the reason for their variation, it is necessary to look at their component parts. There are four forms in which gratuitous relief is given. The dependents of labourers, who live with them on the works but are either small children or aged relations, may receive doles of grain or wages, or the children may receive cooked food in kitchens. There are poor-houses for wanderers and sick persons, and the rest of those who are unable to

work receive money or grain doles in their homes. The number of dependents was high wherever large numbers of the labourers worked at a distance from their homes ; thus, in the North-West Provinces there were 24 feeble people dependent on every 100 labourers, in the Punjab 25, in Bombay 28. In Bengal and Madras there were only 7 per cent., for there relief was most given on small works near their villages, and they naturally did not bring their families to the works, but returned at night to their homes. The numbers relieved in poor-houses were largest in the Central Provinces and Berar, where there was most wandering ; they amounted to 5 and 9 per cent. respectively. Kitchens for providing cooked food were most in vogue in Madras, Bombay, and the Central Provinces, in which Provinces from 6 to 7 per cent. of the numbers on relief were inmates of these poor-houses. But the great mass of gratuitous relief was given in the form of doles to the sufferers in their homes. Out of 132,000,000 units relieved for one day in Bengal, 46 per cent., or over 60,000,000, received relief in this form ; in the North-West Provinces 27·3 per cent., or 77,000,000 out of 282,000,000 ; in the Central Provinces, 25·5 per cent., or 39,000,000 out of 158,000,000 ; in Madras 15 per cent., or 14,000,000 out of 94,000,000 ; in Bombay 11·2 per cent., or 13,000,000 out of 119,000,000. In the tracts where famine was most intense in the North-West Provinces and the Central Provinces the population on gratuitous relief was at one time from 5 to 7 per cent. of the total population.

It may be admitted that the extent to which gratuitous relief was granted probably exceeded the anticipations of the first Commission, and somewhat nullifies the value of the labour test on which they placed so much stress. Their description of the classes fit for gratuitous relief hardly contemplates them as equal or nearly equal in number to the classes on relief works. But the principle which they laid down, that while the labour test should be applied to all those who are fit for labour, no self-



acting test can be applied to the grant of gratuitous relief, and that we must rely on careful inspection and the utilization of the local knowledge of the headmen and other village authorities, has been fully carried out for the first time, and it is not surprising if the results bring out a wider spread of destitution than was foreseen. The second Commission do not suggest that any departure should be made from the principles of the first Commission in their application to home relief, but they add two classes to the recipients—the hill tribes, of whom I have spoken already, and the people, however able-bodied they may be, for whom it is at times impossible to provide suitable work, especially when the rainy season has set in, in the interval between sowing the crop and reaping the autumn harvest. They also propose to fix the dole given to each person (which varied somewhat in different Provinces) at a uniform amount equal to the minimum wage given in relief works, *i.e.*,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of grain or its value. They advocate the establishment on all relief works of kitchens, at which cooked food may be given to the non-working children of the labourers, and of poor-houses at the principal centres, to which vagrants and habitual beggars may be sent, and which may be used as hospitals for the debilitated and moribund, and even as places of detention for contumacious idlers who can but will not work.

Having thus dealt with the subject of gratuitous relief, I turn next to the other and even more important branch of administration, the management of relief works, the task and the wage. It is natural that much novel experience should have been gathered on this head during the tremendous operations which have been carried on, and the Commission have many useful recommendations to make. They agree with the first Commission that large works should be the mainstay of relief operations, but they add that they should be supplemented, and in some cases largely supplemented, by small works, especially where the population is very dense, as in Bengal, or very sparse, as

in hill tracts. I doubt if there is any conflict here, though they seem to think they are somewhat modifying or enlarging the views of the first Commission ; but the words "large" and "small" are, after all, vague and relative, and I think the first Commission would have agreed in the proposal to use the terms "public works" and "village works," the former to be as a rule supervised by officers of the Public Works Department, the latter by civil officers. Public works should, they say, be opened first, and should be the backbone of the operations, and village works should ordinarily be reserved till the advent of the hot weather or the outbreak of epidemic disease. They rightly lay great stress on the preparation of programmes of works beforehand, and they advocate a more general utilization of the staff of the Public Works Department in superintending operations than has been the practice in some Provinces.

The root idea of the first Commission as to the organization of labour was that the simple system of payment by piecework must be abandoned in the famine, and a task must be exacted according to the capacity of the labourer, for executing which he should receive a wage, the minimum of which should be sufficient for subsistence, while the maximum, though low, should be enough to supply some extra comforts, and so tempt him to exertion. In working out this idea the Provincial codes fell into the error of a too complicated classification. There were (1) the able-bodied labourer accustomed to work at ordinary earthwork ; (2) able-bodied and accustomed to work, but not at ordinary earthwork ; (3) able-bodied, but not accustomed to labour ; (4) not able-bodied, but fit for light work. For each class tasks and wages were apportioned, both for males and females. The North-West Provinces officers, when they had to deal with labourers by hundreds of thousands, soon swept all this over-elaboration away, and divided their people into two broad classes—the diggers of earth, mostly able-bodied men, and the carriers, mostly

Task and  
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women, children over twelve, and men not able-bodied. The reasonableness of this system, which had already dawned upon me when supervising the relief works undertaken in Bengal in the scarcity of 1891, was at once accepted by the Governments of Bengal and the Central Provinces, and is now confirmed by the judgment of the second Commission. They prescribe (as the first Commission had prescribed) that the task allotted to diggers should be three-quarters of that ordinarily executed in non-famine times, and the task allotted to carriers between a half and a third; children under twelve, but above eight, should be allowed to work, and should receive half the task and wage of a carrier. They next make a bold proposal for unifying the wage throughout India. After examining the wage-rates actually enforced during the famine, they find that the differences in different Provinces chiefly arise from a difference of classification of the labourers, and that, although there may be differences in the dietary requirements of various parts of the Empire, they are not sufficiently large to make different standards of rations and wage necessary. It follows that if the classification of labour is to be uniform, the wage-rates should be uniform also. They fix the weight of food grain necessary to support a labourer doing a full task at 24 oz., and the minimum necessary for subsistence at 15 oz.; they add a suitable provision of salt and pulse, vegetables and oil, and they work out the value of these quantities, when the grain costs 20 lb. per rupee, and the other articles are at a corresponding price. The wage thus arrived at is 2 annas for a full task, and the rest in proportion. Stated in terms of grain and in the measures of seers and chattaks prevailing in India, the wage would be the cost of 20 chattaks of grain for a digger, 15 for a carrier, 8 for a working child, 12 for the minimum wage of an adult worker, 7 or 5 chattaks for a non-working child over or under 8 years of age. A table of grain equivalents should be drawn up, converting these quantities into money according to the local market-rate

of grain, and the Commission adopt the principle which I introduced in 1891, that the wage-rate should be stated in whole pice, and should only be altered by whole pice, not by smaller fractions of an anna. I would add, in view of what occurred in the North-West Provinces, that the greatest care should be taken that the local market rate should be an actual and not a fictitious one.

The proposal to unify for the whole of India both the village dole and the wage on relief work is a far-reaching and important one, and its attraction is obvious at the first glance from the simplicity it entails both in actual distribution and in accounts, and the avoidance of the temptation to wandering which now arises from the rumour that higher wages are being given elsewhere. It may, however, be opposed on dietetic and on economic grounds. The Madras Government gave a wage equivalent to 18 chattaks to women, and held that this was by no means excessive; but the general weight of opinion seems to agree with that expressed by the Commission that Madras was unduly liberal. On the other hand, the North-West Provinces Government gave a wage that fell somewhat below that now proposed, and contended that it was quite sufficient; they may therefore oppose the proposal on the ground that it involves undue expenditure. It will be well to await the replies of the different Governments and the summing-up of the Government of India on this recommendation, before pronouncing, as at the first blush one is inclined to do, in its favour.

Before leaving this question of relief works, there are some interesting remarks as to the value of the work done and of the labour test applied, which deserve to be briefly summarized. If the real value or permanent utility of the work done could be correctly appraised, that amount might be taken as a partial set-off against the famine expenditure, the balance representing the net or ultimate cost to the State. The Commission calculate that while the actual payments in wages to labourers on relief works was  $4\frac{1}{4}$  crores of rupees,

Value of  
work  
done.

the real value to the State and to the village communities of the works executed was about 40 per cent. of this sum, 27 per cent. being due to works which would have had to be constructed by the Government had there been no famine, such as railways, canals, and roads, and the rest being due to works which the State would not otherwise have undertaken, but which are of considerable value to the villages in which they were carried out. For 60 per cent. of the expenditure there is nothing more to show ultimately than for that incurred in gratuitous relief. It might be argued, say the Commission, from these figures, that it would be simpler and cheaper to place a large proportion of relief workers on gratuitous relief in their homes, and to employ only the able-bodied and efficient workers, and they conclude as follows :

“ If the administration of gratuitous relief could be safely relaxed so as to include among its recipients a number of the less capable individuals who are ordinarily required to attend works as a condition of relief, the result would be a great saving in the cost of relief, which would also be further reduced by the more effective discipline which would be rendered possible on the works.”

I think this a dangerous suggestion, and trust that the Government of India will not accept it. The Commission do not exclude from their view the risk of accustoming the people to a gigantic system of gratuitous relief on the occurrence of every severe famine, but they do not seem to have given sufficient weight to this objection. They have omitted all consideration of the moral effect on famine-stricken people, whose self-respect is raised by the feeling that they are giving a quota of work in return for their food, and are not recipients of pure charity ; but in my Mysore Famine Report I gave abundant proof of the rapid improvement which took place in great masses of people when they were transferred from the poor-houses and placed on works where they could execute ever so light a task. The true point of view is not the value of the work which is turned out, but its value as a test to keep off those who are not really in want, and to keep up

the morale of those who are really in want by supplying them, in M. Turgot's words, not with subsistence itself, but with the means of earning it.

The next recommendations of the Commission are **Weavers**, directed to the system of relieving weavers by employing them in weaving cloth, which could either be distributed to the labourers and their dependents, or sold to recoup the wages given, and to the proper methods of utilizing the funds so nobly contributed by private charity both in England and the colonies, and in India. They are interesting and useful as formulating and developing the principles laid down by the first Commission and by the Government of India, but they contain no points of especial novelty ; and I pass on to the consideration of the question of irrigation, in the extension of which the President, Sir **Canals**, James Lyall, had as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab taken an important part. They show that since the last famine of 1876-78 there has been an expenditure on productive and protective works of 13 crores of rupees, with an increase of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million acres in the irrigated area ; on minor works an outlay of  $8\frac{1}{4}$  crores, with an increase of 2,000,000 acres. In the three years 1876-79, the total irrigated area of India was a little under 32,000,000 acres, or  $10\frac{2}{3}$  millions of acres on an average in each year ; in the three years 1894-97 the total area was  $45\frac{3}{4}$  millions, or  $15\frac{1}{4}$  millions a year on an average. They repeat what I stated in my lecture before the Society of Arts in February, 1897, that of all the projects recommended by the first Commission only four remain unexecuted—the Sarda, Gandak, and Tungabhadra Canals, of the utility and practicability of which great doubts exist, and the Ken Canal, in Bundelkhand, which though useful and practicable will never pay. They show that there is still room for a great and profitable extension of canal irrigation in the Punjab, which would supply water at the cost of 9 crores of rupees to nearly 4,000,000 acres, most of which is now waste land belonging to the State. These schemes would not only add largely

to the stock of food in the country, but would provide a valuable outlet for the surplus population of the Punjab on the same system as has been followed in the case of the Chenab Canal, where the settlement of colonists, named Lyallpur, after Sir James Lyall, has lately been visited by the present Viceroy. In the waterless lands of Sind also there is room for a considerable expansion of the canal system, and works are now in hand which will cost a crore and a half, and bring 600,000 acres under irrigation. But outside of these two provinces and Upper Burma they find

“that there are now no large works which are certain to be remunerative, awaiting completion or construction within the districts which are most liable to famine, or in which the pressure of population is most severe.”

They advocate the completion of the small Tribeni Canal, taken from the Gandak in North Behar, the excavation of which was commenced in the recent famine, and the construction of the Ken Canal, unremunerative though it be, because it would certainly have afforded help to the most distressed district in the North-West Provinces, Banda, if it had been at work during the period of suffering. There may be other works of this kind, on a small scale, which could be constructed in the tracts most liable to drought, and these, they say, should be undertaken if there is reasonable expectation that they will pay their working expenses, although they cannot produce interest on the capital outlay. I myself would advocate their construction even without the condition of paying their working expenses in ordinary years, for in times of famine they would be most valuable as a source of protection and employment to the people. The Betwa Canal, for instance, is nearly on all fours with the Ken Canal, for it has never paid its working expenses; but in 1897 the value of the crops raised by the help of its water exceeded in value half the capital cost, and must have kept many thousands of people from suffering and from the need of relief. But on the whole the report of the second

Commission is important as showing that the limits of the extension of irrigation as a means of protection against famine have been almost reached. There was, indeed, something of a complaint raised in the end of 1896, that Government had neglected the necessity of irrigation, and this complaint was backed by the great name, or perhaps I should say the shadow of the great name, of Sir Arthur Cotton ; but such facts as I have stated effectually disprove its validity. Four conditions may be laid down as essential to justify the construction of a great and remunerative irrigation canal. First, the supply of water must be perennial ; secondly, the land on which it is to be spread must not be in danger of becoming waterlogged ; thirdly, the climate of the tract must be such that the crops cannot be raised in ordinary years without some artificial supply of water ; fourthly, the capital cost of supplying the water must not exceed Rs. 50 per acre. These conditions can only be satisfied, on a great scale, in the Punjab and in Sind.

The last topic I shall touch on, as dealt with by the Commission Report, is the economic history of the crops and prices during the famine. On this subject they have much interesting matter to record. The first Commission estimated that the average annual production of food in British India (excluding Burma and Assam) was 51,000,000 tons, the consumption 47,000,000, leaving a surplus of a little over 4,000,000 tons. The population was then 181,000,000. It has now risen (including those Provinces, and excluding Mysore and the unsurveyed Zemindari tracts in Madras) to 215,000,000, and it is an economic question of the highest importance to know how far the increase in area cultivated and the improvement in irrigation and in methods of cultivation have enabled the out-turn of food to keep pace with the growing population. The agricultural statistics (thanks chiefly to Sir E. Buck) are now more accurate and trustworthy than they were in 1880, but they still leave much to be desired, especially in Bengal. The Commission had two estimates before them.

Com-  
parison  
of the  
weight  
and value  
of food  
crops in  
the famine-  
year and  
in normal  
years.



Mr. Holderness, who as Revenue Secretary to the Government of India, was perhaps a more complete master than any other official of agricultural returns, calculated that the food out-turn had only grown by 8 per cent., to 56,000,000 tons, while the requirements for consumption had risen to  $54\frac{1}{3}$ , leaving thus only a margin of  $1\frac{2}{3}$  millions as surplus. On the other hand, the different Provincial Governments prepared estimates, the total result of which is to show the requirements of the population as  $58\frac{1}{2}$  million tons, and the ordinary food-supply as 68 millions, the surplus having thus increased to  $9\frac{1}{2}$  million tons, or double what it was in 1880. The Commission are rightly doubtful of the accuracy of this estimate, and show good reasons for thinking that the figures in Bengal, Burma and Bombay have been pitched too high.

"Having regard to the degree in which the increase of population appears to have surpassed the increase of food-crop area," they say, "we are inclined to the belief that whatever may have been the normal annual surplus of food-grains in 1880, the present surplus cannot be greater than that figure; but that a substantial surplus still exists in ordinary years there can, in our opinion, be no doubt."

This is a rather undecided expression of opinion, and I should like to add that my own investigations lead me rather to agree with Mr. Holderness, at least to this extent, that if the surplus was rightly calculated at 4,000,000 tons in 1880, it must be less than that figure now, though it may not be as low as  $1\frac{2}{3}$  millions. I think the gradual rise in food prices, which has gone on fairly steadily of late years, must be mainly attributed to the slow depletion of the food stocks, though it is only fair to say that some good authorities find the cause in the depreciation of the rupee.

**Food  
stocks.** However this may be, that there were large stocks of food in the country, and that the annual ordinary surplus was sufficient to keep them replenished after meeting an export, which generally exceeded one million, and sometimes rose to three or four millions of tons, must, I think, be admitted when we come to consider the statistics of the production of food in the recent famine. It is calculated that

about one-third of the ordinary crop was lost, in quantity 18,000,000 or 19,000,000 tons; and though the only import of food was 600,000 tons from Burma, the stocks in the country were sufficient to supply the needs of the population, with much privation, no doubt, and general reduction of the ordinary scale of diet, but still to supply them, and were not altogether exhausted at the end.

The reference which I have just made to Sir Edward Buck leads me to say that I think the Commission might have made some allusion to the great work done by him and the Agricultural Department under him in providing that information as to the state of the crops and their culture which enabled the Local Governments to form an accurate diagnosis of the extent of the disaster and a sound forecast of the amount of relief required. It should never be forgotten that it was in this respect almost more than any other that Government entered on the famine campaign better equipped in 1896 than it was in 1876.

One other omission in the Commission Report I feel bound to notice, viz., that from beginning to end nothing is said of the Supreme Government of India, only of what was done by the Local Governments. Now the direct actual administration of relief rests and must rest on the Provincial Government, but a large field remains in which the influence of the Government of India is felt. It is responsible for supplying additional staff to the famine area, it keeps the Local Governments to the Famine Codes, supplies impetus whenever they appeared to need it (which was rarely), and enforces regard for economy where that consideration seems to be neglected, and arranges in concert with the Home authorities and the Lord Mayor for the distribution of the charitable fund. Perhaps its special achievement in this famine was that it firmly and wisely resisted all proposals to undertake the importation of grain, and abstained from an intervention which would have paralyzed an active and efficient trade. It did not interfere with any local government that was carrying on the famine campaign wisely and

energetically, but confined itself to supporting and helping the Local Governments in every possible way. Those who knew most of the operations conducted in the famine of 1896-97 will be the readiest to acknowledge that the success which was attained was one of the brightest features in Lord Elgin's administration.

Con-  
clusion.

Here I must close my review of this valuable and interesting Report, though I have left untouched some points on which I should have been glad to dwell had space allowed. I will conclude with briefly summing up some leading facts which I hope my readers will be able to carry away and remember. The famine of 1896-97 caused to the country a loss of about 18,000,000 tons of food grain, the value of which may be estimated at over 90 crores of rupees; adding in the loss from non-food crops, the country probably lost the value of about 110 crores of rupees. Against this the State expenditure was about 19 crores, part of which went in direct relief—that is, in wages to labourers and gratuitous doles to those incapable of labour—part in remission of the land revenue, and part in loans and advances, while 2 crores were contributed by private charity. By means of this relief 800,000,000 people were fed for one day, or an average of about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  millions a day for one year. In the time of severest pressure the number rose to  $4\frac{1}{4}$  millions, and it continued at about 3,000,000 throughout May, June and July. In spite of this relief the death-roll increased by about 800,000 above the normal, though very few deaths from actual starvation were recorded, and the increased mortality was mainly due to the ordinary diseases of the season acting on frames enfeebled by privation. The parts where the campaign against famine was most successfully carried on were those where famine had most frequently occurred before, and where the people best knew how to expect help, and the Government officials how to give it. The parts where it was least successful were those where famine had seldom or never occurred before, and where the experience of the past was

most wanting, and the people least trained to utilize the means offered for their assistance. But everywhere the campaign was fought with splendid courage, with absolute devotion, and with true humanity, and a degree of success was attained of which I, writing as a representative of those who fought the battle of 1876-78, and who afterwards took in hand to store up its lessons for the guidance of the future, venture to say that it has exceeded my most sanguine anticipations.

TABLE SHOWING IN DETAIL THE DISTRICTS AFFECTED BY THE FAMINE.

Province and District.	INTERSE.				SEVERE.				SLIGHT.				TOTAL.			
	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 4 to Col. 3.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 8 to Col. 7.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 12 to Col. 11.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 16 to Col. 15.
<b>N.-W. PROVINCES:</b>																
Agra	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	1,856	1,004	27	3	1,856	1,004	27	3
Muttra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,441	713	11	1'5	1,441	713	11	1'5
Etawah	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,694	728	15	2	1,694	728	15	2
Cawnpur	..	..	..	..	2,363	1,210	69	5'7	1,633	699	21	..	2,363	1,210	69	5'7
Fatehpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,633	699	21	3	1,633	699	21	3
Allahabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,852	1,549	..	..	2,852	1,549	..	..
Banda	..	1,549	260	17	..	..	..	..	3,061	706	..	..	3,061	706	260	17
Jalaun	..	706	278	34	..	..	..	..	1,477	396	..	..	1,477	396	278	34
Jhansi	..	396	112	29	..	..	..	..	3,587	683	81	..	3,587	683	81	..
Hamirpur	..	683	112	12	..	..	..	..	2,289	514	..	..	2,289	514	..	..
Benares	..	514	112	22	..	..	..	..	1,010	922	12	1'3	1,010	922	12	1'3
Mirzapur	..	..	..	..	5,223	1,162	59	5'2	1,550	1,265	36	..	5,223	1,162	36	..
Jaunpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,148	1,729	18	3	2,148	1,729	18	3
Azamgarh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,580	2,994	40	1'3	4,580	2,994	40	1'3
Gorakhpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,710	1,075	11	1	1,710	1,075	11	1
Sultanpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,438	911	11	1'2	1,438	911	11	1'2
Pertabgarh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,740	1,131	13	1'2	1,740	1,131	13	1'2
Barabanki	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,752	1,037	66	..	1,752	1,037	66	..
Rai Bareilly	..	..	..	..	967	774	72	9	1,736	954	27	3	1,736	954	27	3
Unao	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,255	1,075	44	..	2,255	1,075	44	..
Lucknow	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,372	485	6	1'3	1,372	485	6	1'3
Sitapur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hardoi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pilibhit	..	1,113	133	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ...	15,591	4,961	976	20	10,305	4,183	266	6	26,163	15,685	292	1'9	52,059	24,829	1,534	6'2

\* Thousands omitted in columns 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, and 16.

TABLE SHOWING IN DETAIL THE DISTRICTS AFFECTED BY THE FAMINE—continued.

Province and District.	INTENSE.				SEVERE.				SLIGHT.				TOTAL.			
	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 4 to Col. 3.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 8 to Col. 7.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 12 to Col. 11.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 16 to Col. 15.
BENGAL:	2	3	4	5	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Saran ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,656	2,467	74	3	2,656	2,467	74	3
Champan ..	...	...	...	...	3,531	1,859	159	9	...	...	...	...	3,531	1,859	159	9
Mozaffarpur ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,004	2,711	114	4	3,004	2,711	114	4
Durbhanga ..	...	...	...	...	3,335	2,802	201	7	...	...	...	...	3,335	2,802	201	7
Shahabad ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,373	2,063	31	15	4,373	2,063	31	15
Nadiya ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,793	1,644	82	5	2,793	1,644	82	5
Khulna ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,077	1,178	11	1	2,077	1,178	11	1
Palaman ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,912	597	5	1	4,912	597	5	1
Manbhum ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,147	1,193	18	1	4,147	1,193	18	1
Total ..	...	...	...	...	6,866	4,661	360	7	23,962	11,853	335	19	30,828	16,514	605	41
PUNJAB:	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hissar ..	...	...	...	...	5,217	776	66	9	...	...	...	...	5,217	776	66	9
Rohtak ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,797	590	10	2	1,797	590	10	2
Kurnal ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,660	684	7	1	2,660	684	7	1
Gujrat ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,051	761	42	5	2,051	761	42	5
Total ..	...	...	...	...	5,217	776	66	9	6,508	2,035	59	29	11,725	2,811	125	44
CENTRAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
PROVINCES:	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saugur ..	...	...	...	...	4,007	592	51	9	...	...	...	...	4,007	592	51	9
Damoh ..	2,831	326	52	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,831	326	52	16

\* Thousands omitted in columns 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, and 16.

TABLE SHOWING IN DETAIL THE DISTRICTS AFFECTED BY THE FAMINE—continued.

Province and District.	INTENSE.				SEVERE.				SLIGHT.				TOTAL.			
	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Consecutive Months.	Ratio of Col. 4 to Col. 3.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Consecutive Months.	Ratio of Col. 8 to Col. 7.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Consecutive Months.	Ratio of Col. 12 to Col. 11.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Consecutive Months.	Ratio of Col. 16 to Col. 15.
CENT. PROVINCES —continued:	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Jabalpur ...	3,948	748	98	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,948	748	98	13
Mandla ...	...	...	...	...	5,056	339	29	9	...	...	...	...	5,056	339	29	9
Seoni ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,198	371	14	4	3,198	371	14	4
Narsinghpur ...	1,916	367	40	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,916	367	40	11
Hoshangabad ...	4,024	530	55	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,024	530	55	11
Betul ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chindwara ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,824	323	14	4	3,824	323	14	4
Nagpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,630	407	18	4	4,630	407	18	4
Bhandara ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,832	758	19	2	3,832	758	19	2
Balaghat ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,968	743	29	4	3,968	743	29	4
Raipur ...	3,164	383	52	13	...	...	88	...	...	...	...	...	3,164	383	52	13
Bilaspur ...	...	...	...	...	11,724	1,584	111	6	...	...	...	...	11,724	1,584	88	6
	...	...	...	...	8,341	1,164	...	9	...	...	...	...	8,341	1,164	111	9
Total ...	15,883	2,354	297	13	29,128	3,679	279	8	19,452	2,602	94	3.5	64,463	8,635	670	7.7
BERAR:																
Akola ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,659	575	11	2	2,659	575	11	2
Basim ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,956	398	6	2	2,956	398	6	2
Ellichpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,617	316	5	1	2,617	316	5	1
Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,232	1,289	22	1.7	8,232	1,289	22	1.7

\* Thousands omitted in columns 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, and 16.

TABLE SHOWING IN DETAIL THE DISTRICTS AFFECTED BY THE FAMINE—continued.

Province and District.	INTENSE.					SEVERE.					SLIGHT.					TOTAL.			
	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 4 to Col. 3.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 8 to Col. 7.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 12 to Col. 11.	Area.	*Population.	*No. on Relief in Three Worst Months.	Ratio of Col. 16 to Col. 15.			
<b>BOMBAY :</b>	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17			
Bijapur ...	5,627	796	116	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,627	796	116	15			
Sholapur ...	4,542	751	127	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,542	751	127	17			
Ahmadnagar ...	...	...	...	...	6,645	889	87	9	...	...	...	...	6,645	889	87	9			
Poona ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,349	1,068	27	2	5,349	1,068	27	2			
Nasik ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,817	844	33	4	5,817	844	33	4			
Satara ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,825	1,226	29	2	4,825	1,226	29	2			
Khandesh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,700	1,435	34	2	10,700	1,435	34	2			
Belgaum ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,674	1,013	15	1	4,674	1,013	15	1			
Total ...	10,169	1,547	243	16	6,645	889	87	9	31,365	5,586	138	25	48,179	8,022	468	58			
<b>MADRAS :</b>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Cuddapah...	...	...	...	...	8,731	1,272	101	8	...	...	...	...	8,731	1,272	101	8			
Kurnool ...	7,154	818	168	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,154	818	168	20			
Bellary ...	5,975	900	171	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,975	900	171	19			
Ariemtipur ...	4,886	709	74	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,886	709	74	11			
Ganjam ...	...	...	...	...	8,369	1,897	92	5	...	...	...	...	8,369	1,897	92	5			
Vizianagram ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17,242	1,943	40	2	17,242	1,943	40	2			
Total ...	18,015	2,427	413	17	17,100	3,169	193	6	17,242	1,943	40	2	52,357	7,539	646	85			

\* Thousands omitted in columns 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, and 16.



## THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

BY GUERRILLA.

THE close of the nineteenth century finds the British Empire cognisant of but one "Frontier." The boundaries of Her Majesty's dominions measure many thousands of miles, but for the British public "the Frontier" has come to mean but one small section of those boundaries, viz., the borderland of India from the Pamirs to the Persian Gulf. It is the Achilles' heel of the Empire; the one vulnerable point. The shores of old England repose secure behind her, not wooden, but iron walls. The *entente* of 1898 has freed Canada from fear for her southern frontier. The valley of the Nile is safe. Thanks to Lords Cromer and Kitchener, and Mr. Rhodes, and minor lights in Uganda, the cry "from Cairo to the Cape" has ceased to seem a far one. Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons will doubtless do the rest. India can look eastward, and see no foe to dread. It is the western—the north-western—outlook that looms dark before the eyes of Viceroys, and defies the foresight of Councils and Cabinets to pierce the veil that shrouds its future.

It was known some months before the close of 1898 that Lord Elgin would leave to Lord Curzon the final settlement of the provisions for the future control and administration of this frontier. The hostile outbreak of the tribes in 1897, and the failure of some of the local officials to cope with that outbreak effectively, had forcibly impressed on the home, if not on the Indian, Government the need for some modification of the existing system. The Viceregal Council was loath to confess to a fiasco; but public opinion was not to be blinded. While Colonel Muhammad Aslam Khan was referring from Jamrud, through Sir R. Udny at Peshawur and the Panjab Secretariat, to Simla, the dis-

graceful abandonment of the Khyber Rifles had become an irrevocable fact. The weak policy pursued in the Tochi Valley, subsequent to the treacherous attack made on our troops at Maizar, had met with general disapproval. In Swat, the Momand Country, and Buner alone had the prestige of our arms (and that not altogether untarnished, as Brigadier-General Jeffreys and the Momands can testify) been worthily maintained. Tirah is but the history of a failure, redeemed by the gallant pluck and endurance of the fighting ranks and their officers.

But, in addition to our relations with these tribes, any future scheme of frontier administration required to be based on a consideration of the state of affairs, present and prospective, in Afghanistan, and on the attitude and policy of Russia. Nay, more, it had to take into account the existing situation in Persia and Turkish Arabia, and the possible destinies of those two vast territories, at present owning the authority of Mussulman despots, but almost certain in course of time to pass under the control of Christian Governments.

It is more than twenty years since Lord Lytton made up his mind that Sind ought to be transferred from Bombay to the Panjab, and a Trans-Indus governorship or commissionership created. The second Afghan war alone thwarted the realization of this project. What Lord Lytton proposed to carry into effect thoughtful men had suggested before. In February, 1877, we find Richard Burton thus concluding his graphic, though somewhat extravagant and eccentric, work entitled "Sind Revisited": "Young Egypt,\* like old Egypt, imperatively demands a sanatorium, and the nearest and best would be Kelat. This capital also requires protection, and it will be an admirable outpost in case of hostile movements from Merv towards Herat. Thus an occupation contemplated by the

\* Burton borrowed this term for "Sind" from an earlier work bearing the title "Dry Leaves from Young Egypt," by an Ex-Political. London, 1851.

treaty of 1854\* might suit all parties. . . . The Military-Political has had his day, and Sind, after a fair trial of a third of a century, has shown herself impotent to hold the position of an independent Province. Her 'manifest destiny' is annexation to the Panjab, and thus once more, as in the days of the Hindu Rajahs, her frontiers will extend to Kashmir. Already the papers tell us that the Trans-Indine districts, from Peshawur to near Karachi, will be formed into a Frontier Government, or an agency purely political, and will be placed directly under the Viceroy; while Cis-Indine Sind, including also Karachi, is to be transferred from Bombay to the Panjab in exchange for the Central Provinces. These sensible measures will be the making of Young Egypt. She will become the export line of the rich Upper Indine Valley and the broad plains of the Five Rivers. Finally, when Karachi becomes the terminus of the Euphrates or Overland Railway, so much wanted at this moment (February, 1877), then the 'Unhappy' will change her name, and in the evening of the days shall become 'the Happy Valley.' "

The forecast—or is it but the dream?—of Richard Burton has as yet been but imperfectly realized. His vision of the "Happy Valley" is in many of its details still but an undeveloped negative. Quetta, it is true—not Kelat—has become the "outpost" of the Indian Empire towards Kandahar and Herat, and "Young Egypt's" nearest "sanatorium." Since 1877, Sind has prospered greatly, and probably doubled its cultivated area, population, and revenue. The grain-export from Karachi is the largest in India. The peasantry and labouring classes are so well off, that applicants for enlistment in the Native

\* In February, 1854, the Khan of Kelat, at the request of Major (afterwards Brigadier-General) John Jacob, met at Jacobabad Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere, the Commissioner in Sind. Richard Burton refers apparently to some agreement concluded at this meeting. Jacob and Outram had advocated the permanent occupation of the Bolan and Quetta before Richard Burton wrote, or the name of Robert Sandeman had won fame on the frontier.

Army are almost unknown. Yet are these the same men who stood loyally by us in the Mutiny, fought gallantly at Delhi and in the subsequent operations, extending over two years, in the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Nepal Terai, and who garrisoned and kept peace in the Panjab when John Lawrence sent every man he could spare to Delhi. Since Richard Burton wrote, the great Province of Baluchistan has been welded together and into shape by Sir Robert Sandeman and his successors. The Government of India has annexed every available square mile of territory along the North-West Frontier up to the limits of the territories of its neighbours, the Amir of Afghanistan and the Shah of Persia. A few mountain tribes only remain independent. Unpleasant experience has warned us to leave them as far as possible alone.

Intelligent opinion in 1877 advocated the formation of the Trans-Indine districts, from Peshawur to Karachi, into a Frontier Province directly under the Viceroy. It is worth while (for those to whom Frontier geography is not a subject of frequent study) to take up a map for a few minutes, and compare the frontier line of 1877 with that of 1899. The former does not extend beyond the plains of Sind and the Panjab and the subsidiary State of Kashmir. The latter starts from the Pamirs and the Hindu Kush, skirts Kafiristan, bisects the Momand country, circles round (east of) Tirah, reaches away west of Waziristan and Zhob to the outpost and railway terminus of Chaman, then trends westward across the Baluch desert to Sistan, and finally bends south to the shores of the Gulf of Omán. The Trans-Indine territory of to-day is in area no mean rival of the recognised Governorships and Lieutenant-Governorships of the Indian Empire, and in importance of position it transcends them all. It is in this Province that in all human probability the final destiny of our rule in India will be fought out and decided. The ruler of this Province is the Warden of the Indian Marches. Years will probably elapse before the armies of Russia and Great

Britain will meet to decide which Power shall hold the supremacy of Asia, but meet they will, sooner or later, and every sign points to "the Frontier" from Chitral to Gwádúr as the scene of conflict, unless, indeed, the issue be fought out in the Yangtse Valley. The rivalry of the two Powers never slackens or lessens. We may have demarcated a boundary from Zulfikár to Sarikol,\* but that boundary depends on the life of an Amir, and on the policy of a Czar and his Frontier officials. At the west end of it we have the effete rule of the Shah, at the east the corrupt administration which owes allegiance to Peking. The east end matters little. No invader has ever yet entered India by the Mustaph Pass, from the Pamirs, or even from Badakhshan. Vigilance, however, in those quarters is a fault on the right side. Where the path is open, there is Russia ready to advance. All is grist that comes to her mill. Arid desert and bleak mountain are all absorbed; even sand and rock lead to better things. In 1885 the British Government handed over Badghis to Russia, representing it to be a worthless tract of sand.† Russia

\* It has been recently reported that the Russians are showing some activity in the direction of Sarikol. This is the district in which lies the Eastern terminus of the frontier demarcated by the Pamirs Boundary Commission of 1895. It is here that the frontier touches on China. In the preliminary negotiations Russia declined the proposal of a joint British, Russian, and Chinese Commission. She reserved to herself the task of settling her own account with China—an account she could well allow to stand over until a more convenient hour. It will doubtless be settled eventually *à la* Amūr and Manchuria. The Report on the Pamirs Commission of 1895, published by the Government of India at Calcutta, deserves to be more widely known than it is. It is admirably illustrated from photographs—the only trustworthy method of illustration—and both as a book of travel, a historical narrative, and a scientific record, is extremely interesting. It finally settles the source of the Oxus, the point so interestingly raised by Mr. George (now Lord) Curzon some years back in a paper read by him before the Royal Geographical Society.

† In 1839 an anonymous writer compiled a quarto volume entitled "Exposition of Transactions in Central Asia, through which the Independence of States and the Affections of People, Barriers to the British Possessions in India, have been Sacrificed to Russia by Viscount Palmerston, constituting Grounds for the Impeachment of that Minister." The

has now run a railway across that tract of sand, and planted her railway terminus sixty or seventy miles from Herat. What England undervalued as a barrier, Russia valued as a line of advance, a stepping-stone, to Herat first, then to India. It is the same with the Pamirs—a most inhospitable tract admittedly—but the Russians have set their foot on our near side of it. There is more mischief to be wrought from the near than from the far side. Are the numerous Russian scientific missions to Tibet seeking science only? Recently, our Major L. A. Waddell, LL.D. (author of “Among the Himalayas,” and “The Buddhism of Tibet”), was severely handled by the Press for counselling the Government of India to annex without delay Llassa and the Upper Sanpo Valley. *Pace* the Press, no such untimely advice; but so forward a step cannot be taken when troops and money are scarce, and urgency cannot be pleaded. When Tibet is menaced as Burma was in 1885, then urgency will be admitted, and both troops and money will be found—at least, if they are not, the position will be perilous, and the state of the Empire perilous. It will be the “last state” of that Empire.

The western end of the Russo-Afghan Frontier is, in geographical configuration, the very reverse of the eastern. Here all is comparatively open country, and here Russian energy is actively at work. Since the beginning of this century we have opposed, step by step, doggedly the advance of Russia towards India, but we have not been able to stop it. Those who maintain that the buffer-state of Afghanistan must crumble sooner or later, and that there can be no stability of affairs until the frontiers of England and Russia meet, have a wealth of precedent in their favour. Since the days of the missions of Malcolm and Harford Jones to the Court of the Shah of Persia our consistent policy has been to check as far as possible the

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sixty years between 1839 and 1895 have, on these grounds, afforded material for impeaching entire Cabinets.<sup>1</sup> The “Buffer State” policy was evidently not new in 1839.

growth of Russian power and influence at that Court. But we have not succeeded there, any more than we have in Central Asia, for the very good reason that Russia holds a more commanding position relatively to those countries than England does. Our policy is, or was, to leave them alone, to use them as mere buffers. We have India, with her 300 millions of inhabitants, and nearly 100 millions sterling of revenue. We want to keep what we have. Russia owns a desert, and that a desert without outlet. She seeks to absorb all she can, and to gain the outlets she needs. The power of assuming the offensive lies with Russia, and therefore it is that in the long history of her advance from her frontier at the commencement of this century to the frontier which she holds at the close of it, England has really played the passive and Russia the active part. It is an axiom of strategy that the belligerent who assumes the offensive forces his opponent more or less to conform to his initiative. It is not that England has failed in activity, but it has been an activity responsive to Russian aggression. The first siege of Herat (instigated by Russia) led to a military demonstration in the Persian Gulf in 1838. Apprehensions of Russia underlay the motives that enticed the Government of India into the Afghan War of 1838-42. The second siege of Herat led to the Persian campaign of 1856-7. The political action of Kaufmann and the mission of Stolietoff provoked the second Afghan War of 1878-81. In short, Russian intrigue, without moving a man or spending a kopeck, cost us millions of money and thousands of men. True, we have checked and thwarted Russia—for a time. But in the end she gets what she wants. She has behind her the vast concentrated forces of her Empire. We act from a detached base. We have a long line of communication via the Mediterranean, Suez Canal, and Red Sea to maintain, and Russia, in common with other Powers, menaces its security. Every forward movement she makes in Persia, in Asia Minor, or towards Constantinople, increases that

menace. We, on the other hand, are powerless to threaten Russia's line of communication, either in Siberia or Central Asia. After what Lord Salisbury said, when the Sultan set the concert of the Powers at naught, Great Britain is not again likely to ally herself with the Turk. An alliance with the effete despotism of Persia has no more points in its favour now than it had in 1854, when it was declined. Russia knew how to utilize the "*spreta injuria fœderis*" as a means whereby to egg on Muhammad Shah to besiege Herat in 1856, and to prompt Amir Sher Ali Khan in 1878 to decline to receive a British Envoy. She scruples not to use such methods and such accomplices. We can look to no allies in Asia, and we have the reputation of priding ourselves on counting on none in Europe. We play our own game and fight our own battles, making the most of points that tell in our favour, and neglecting no friend who honestly throws in his lot with us. There are few of those, however, in the broad stretch of territory which still divides Britain from Russia in Asia.

We must consider for a moment the position which Russia has acquired on the Perso-Afghan and the Perso-Baluch border. The latest Consular Report on trade in Khorasan and Sistan (N.E. Persia) shows that in those provinces Russian trade is strongly in the ascendant. In 1897, under the pretext of safeguarding Persia and Russia from the plague, Russian officers and troops, on behalf of the Shah, watched the main roads leading from Afghanistan into Persia. It was just at that time that the Quetta-Sistan caravan route was being opened up by the energy of Mr. Webb-Ware. The Russian plague-cordon effectually blocked that route for 1897; while plague, famine and rebellion in India engrossed the attention of the Indian Government. Our policy in Eastern Persia, and indeed in Persia generally, became for a time a matter of secondary importance. Persian obstruction co-operated with the Cossack cordon to boycott the caravan route from Nashki to Sistan. The despatch of a medical officer with a small



escort from India to Sistan in the hot weather of 1897 was of no practical use. The men and the measure were alike out of place. Sistan lies on the border of our own territory in N.W. Baluchistan, and of a part of Afghanistan, which, when the Amir of Kabul becomes a monarch of the past, ought to be annexed to our Indian Empire. We cannot let the Helmand Valley pass away from us. There was a time (but a few years ago) when the Karachi-Sistan, or Quetta-Sistan Railway was seriously thought of and discussed. Though surveys had not been made, the proposed routes were on paper. They remained on paper. A policy of inaction and indifference in Eastern Persia ensued. The Durand agreement of 1893 resulted in the demarcation of the Indo-Afghan frontier from Waziristan to the Kuh-Malik-i-Siyah on the Sistan border. Mr. Webb-Ware had been associated with Captain McMahon in that work, and was selected to establish the Nashki-Sistan caravan route, the need for which successive Residents at Meshed had for some years been urging on the Government of India. Still Mr. Webb-Ware's sphere of action was confined to Baluchistan. It was not till the Russian Government, in the autumn of 1898, appointed a Vice-Consul to Sistan that the British Foreign Office responded by transferring Captain Sykes thither from Kirman. Considering its important position, its past prosperity, its future possibilities, and the predominant influence which at one time the British and Indian Government exercised in Sistan, it is surprising that those Governments should have been so leisurely in posting there a consular representative. It must certainly be admitted that England, in pursuing her policy in and towards Persia, has a far more difficult game to play than Russia. This, however, is not sufficient to excuse supineness in Eastern Persia. It is 25 years since we leased Quetta from the Khan of Kelat, and 14 since the Commission of 1884 reopened the trade route between Quetta and Sistan. The net result of this lapse of years is that Indian trade with N.E. Persia has decreased

75 per cent., and that while Russian influence has been quietly and steadily progressing, our influence has been almost at a standstill. In 1872, when Persia and Afghanistan could not come to an understanding about their boundaries in Sistan, Great Britain was invited to arbitrate. If this question arises again, Russia will have some grounds for claiming a voice in its settlement.

The object which our great rival in Asia has in view is well known. This is a port\* on the Persian Gulf. This has been matter of common talk for years past. Recently a trading organ of the Russian press discussed at some length the question of a railway connecting the Trans-Caspian Railway with the Persian Gulf. The one project is but a natural corollary of the other. A port must have railways to feed it. It is true that Karachi, the fourth port of the Indian Empire, is starved in railways, because, though subject to the Bombay Government, it has the whole influence of Bombay itself arrayed against it, while the Government of India and the Panjab are neutral or lukewarm. Lines of rail connecting Karachi on the one side with Rajputana, Delhi, and the North-West Provinces, on the other with Gujerat, Central India and Bombay, and on the third through Baluchistan with Eastern Persia, have been for years needed both for commercial and strategical purposes. They progress but slowly. Russia, on the other hand, does not leave these needs unfulfilled. The roads of Russia proper may be the veriest quagmires, and the masses of the people kept in ignorance, but the great enterprises of the Empire, the Trans-Caspian, Trans-Siberian, and Trans-Persian Railways, are never lost to

\* For some years past the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* has been publishing a series of papers by Captain Stiffe (late Royal Indian Marine), on "Former Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf." These and the lectures of Sir Thomas Holdich have shown how greatly the past of Mekran and the Gulf surpassed the present. It seems that the rivalry of Great Britain and Russia is to make their future. Steam and electricity are the agencies by which both would work, and they to-day are the agencies that make the world go round.

view. The treasuries may be empty, but the policy of the Empire, viz., its steady expansion, is never allowed to flag for want of funds. If British enterprise is proud of the Canadian-Pacific Railway, Russia has double reason to be proud of those railways which link St. Petersburg and Moscow with the Pamirs and the shores of the Pacific. The honour of crying "One better" to the Russian achievement is apparently reserved for Mr. Cecil Rhodes. The wealthiest empire of the world, Great Britain, with its dependency of "Ind," is guided in its expenditure by other principles, and sets aside, on the plea of paucity of funds, measures of frontier defence, territorial aggrandizement, and colonial and commercial enterprise which, from an Imperial point of view, it would seem needful to undertake without delay. Little Englanders may clamour and protest, but empires will expand. The press of India has of late developed a strong taint of "little Englandism." The origin of this development is to be sought in the unsatisfactory issue of the several frontier expeditions which the Government of India undertook in 1897. The heavy sacrifice of blood and money, contrasted with the worthless results achieved, was made so manifest that public opinion could not blind itself to the obvious conclusion that those "punitive" expeditions were in no way profitable. Even so popular a man as Lord Roberts, whom the Ministry in power put up in the House of Lords to defend the forward policy, failed to carry conviction to the hearts of Indian editors. Nevertheless, the Indian editor did not hit the right nail on the head. The mistake which the Government of India had made was in allowing itself to be drawn into futile forays, instead of nursing its strength in troops and money for the purpose of establishing its authority on those parts of the frontier which are threatened by a really dangerous opponent. The Pathan tribes are *une quantité négligeable*. Sir R. May and General Ellis might have spared India a Tirah expedition by one prompt move at the first. "Trounce them whenever they touch you" should be the motto, otherwise ignore or boycott them.

It is some fifty years or more since Englishmen began to look forward to the day when a railway would connect India with Europe ; forty years ago the Euphrates Valley Railway looked feasible enough. Now the project of an Indo-Mediterranean or Indo-European line bristles with obstacles. A century ago Great Britain supported the Sultan of Turkey in establishing his authority in Turkish Arabia ;\* and forty-five years ago she spent millions to protect the Ottoman Empire against Russia. Now all is changed. England is in no mood to help the Turk, and the feeling is reciprocated. In the intervening years since the Crimean War, France, Russia, and Germany have all been busy in Syria ; busy in acquiring influence there, and in constructing railways. German enterprise in particular has been most active in making a railway from Scutari to Angora, a line which will be undoubtedly extended to Kaisarich, and thence onward to the Euphrates Valley. It is but a revival, in a modified form, of the Chesney project which Lord Palmerston rejected in 1856 in deference to French susceptibilities. Such a line will naturally form a junction with the Beyrout-Damascus-Palmyra Railway ; and in this joint line we may possibly find the solution of the long-talked-of Euphrates Valley scheme. Another prospective solution of it lies in the continuation of the Russian Railway system in the Caucasus south-eastward through Tabriz, Teheran, and Ispahan to the Persian Gulf. This line, if constructed (as the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Daily Mail* stated recently it would be by a Russian syndicate before 1901, in which year the Russian right of veto on the construction of railways in Persia by foreign Powers lapses), would most probably meet the projected Trans-Caspian-Persian-Gulf line at or near Kirman. The mountain ranges of S.E. Persia mean difficult and costly engineering. In 1898 the Vienna correspondent of the *Times* sprung on the public the rumour of the grant of a concession to a combined

\* Mr. T. C. Plowden (then Resident at Baghdad, now at Hyderabad, Deccan), in *Fortnightly Review*, 1884.

British, Russian, French, and Belgian syndicate for a railway from Tripoli (north of Beyrout) to Koweit on the Persian Gulf. The rumour remains a rumour. It is most unlikely that, in view of the friendship existing between the Emperor William II. and the Sultan, any such concession would be made to a syndicate on which Germany is not represented. Some ten years or so ago Germany took small interest in Baghdad. Later on she sent a private agent there, and a year or two afterwards nominated that agent Consul. Germany is now a factor that must be taken into account in all that affects Turkish Arabia, and her Consul was of opinion some years back that British interests there needed more careful watching than they received. Since the Crimean days Russia's frontiers have been pushed southward, and her ambitions and intrigues still more so. Even the Emir of Nejd is not beyond the reach of her emissaries. It is through, or just to the north of, the territory of Nejd that the Trans-Arabian Railway from Suez to Koweit, which Mr. Black first proposed and others have since advocated, would pass. To say much about such a line, in the existing state of our knowledge of the country, and in the uncertainty which must attend any scheme in a land the future of which cannot possibly be foretold, is unnecessary; but bearing in mind that it will traverse a barren, unproductive tract, that it will have as a rival the Euphrates Valley Railway already described as likely to be constructed under German auspices, and that, in the event of its being debarred from rounding the northern end of the Persian Gulf, and being brought into direct junction viâ Persia and Baluchistan with the Indian railway system, it would have to terminate at Koweit or some other point on the Arabian littoral of the Persian Gulf, and thence connect with Karachi by a service of steamers—bearing all this in mind, we say the prospect of a Trans-Arabian railway ever being constructed is at present seemingly remote. The time no doubt will come when again (as a century ago) the Sultan will be unable

to enforce his authority in Turkish Arabia. England will not then use her power, as she did on the first occasion, to re-establish the Sultan's authority, but to secure to herself some recompense for the years during which she has maintained law and order in Turkish and Persian waters, and along the Turkish and Persian coasts. This work she has done single-handed—as absolutely single-handed as she was in 1882 when she quelled rebellion in Egypt. France, thwarted on the Nile, has now sought to embarrass us at Muscat. French diplomatic methods in these days bear a marked resemblance to those which we have long recognised as characteristic of her ally Russia. France, in intriguing in the Persian Gulf, is probably only acting as Russia's cat's-paw, a rôle which the Franco-Russian *entente* imposes on her. Russia herself has no old-standing rights in these waters; but she means to have a port there. Every year she draws nearer to the object she has in view. She never loses a pretext. The recent bombardment of Lingah by the Darya-begi might almost have given Russian agents their opening for interposition. It will come sooner or later. In our future political action in the Persian Gulf, we will have to reckon with Russia. If England wants a railway from India through Southern Persia to the Mediterranean, the Government of the Czar desires a port on the Persian Gulf, and a railway or railways to it. On these points the two Powers must come to an understanding, unless one or the other, or both, prefer war. A few years ago the present Viceroy in India wrote thus: "England does not demand that the Gulf should be a *mare clausum* against foreign trade. But at least she must and does claim . . . that no hostile political influence shall introduce its discordant features upon the scene." The political influences are now there—French, German, and Russian. France has a coal-ing station, Germany undoubtedly meditates an Angora-Baghdad - Koweit Railway, while Russia projects two railways to, and seeks a port on, the Gulf. Whether these rival political influences lead to war or compromise, we can

at least lose nothing by being in force on the spot, and that we shall not be until we have made our military strength in Western Baluchistan on a par with that naval predominance which we possess on the Persian Gulf. Had Sir Robert Sandeman lived, that military strength would have now been a reality, not an aspiration. It was his aim to extend British influence to the Persian border, and Lord Curzon, in his "Persia," has declared his acquiescence in that policy. He has now the best of opportunities for repairing the neglect of the past. A worthless Mir at Kelat, and the impending rivalry of other European Powers in and around the Persian Gulf, are arguments that will convince all but the "Little Englander."

That our influence in S.E. Persia is not such as it should be may be gathered from the very meagre satisfaction which we obtained for the murder of Mr. Greaves two years ago. The British Resident at Bushire, supported by our naval forces in the Gulf, did all he could to avenge the dastardly outrage, but the Persian authorities and troops made a mere show of assisting him. Had we at that time had an adequate force stationed in S.W. Baluchistan, either Mr. Greaves' murder would not have occurred, or our troops would have made escape for his murderers much more difficult. Similarly the attack on Captain Burn and the rebellion of Baluch Khan\* would probably not have taken place. Had Sir Robert Sandeman lived, we fully believe that he would have induced the Government of India to locate at Kej, or Panjgur or some other suitable place for a military station, a body of troops sufficient to overawe the local tribes and their chiefs. Since Sir Robert Sandeman's death, British influence in Mekran has been allowed to slumber. The Political Officer of the district resides at Karachi, and visits his charge once a year with an escort behind him. He is being continually changed, and ap-

\* Ably suppressed by Colonel Mayne. The Government still declines to grant the frontier medal for this well-conducted and successful little expedition.

parently anyone is good enough for the post. On several occasions a Telegraph or Survey official has been directed to assume political charge of the vast tract extending from Sonmiani and Las Beila to the frontier of Persia. It is not by means and men and measures such as these that British interests and prestige will be maintained in this great stretch of territory; nor is it thus that we shall place ourselves in a position to cope with Russia's ambitions. In 1893, when at Sir James Browne's instance the Government of India disposed Mir Khudadad Khan of Kelat, a valuable opportunity was lost of substituting an efficient British for an effete Brahmin rule. Since then, and more especially during the last two years, an unusual recurrence of rebellious outbreaks and murderous outrages has indicated that Baluchistan is not in a satisfactory state. The new Mir, Mahmud Khan, has proved incompetent. His misgovernment and want of influence with his people would now justify the Government of India in curtailing the limits of his rule, and in establishing British authority certainly in all the outlying frontier and coast districts of the Province of Baluchistan.

While enumerating the various schemes for an Indo-European railway, we do not overlook the one which, *primâ facie*, presents the earliest prospect of linking Europe with India. We refer to the Merv-Herat-Chaman line. Mr. J. M. Maclean, M.P., and other public speakers and writers, have advocated the junction of Chuman by rail with Shaikh Jowain. Those who know "the Frontier" more intimately generally oppose it. The force of juxtaposition, however, is hard to resist. It is but 600 miles from Shaikh Jowain to Chaman. From Angora to Karachi is a distance of 2,500 miles, more than half of which is desert. There are those who argue that if England and Russia agree to link up their termini, the Amir of Afghanistan must and will acquiesce. They are possibly reckoning without their host. The Amir Abdurrahman Khan is an astute and stubborn man, and very



firm to resist interference with his internal affairs. Moreover, England will never invite Russia to bring pressure to bear on the Amir, it being her contention that Afghanistan is outside the sphere of Russian influence. The junction by rail of Chaman and Shaikh-Jowain will probably not take place in the present Amir's lifetime. India does not fear to join her railway-system to that of Russia, but she would be ill-advised to do so while that Power persists in her present commercial and fiscal policy in Central Asia.

We have stated at some length the several rival projects and the various conflicting ambitions which now complicate the question of railway communication between Europe and the East, because the outcome of these has a most important bearing on the future of "the Frontier." Whatever may be the ultimate issue of the schemes of Cabinets, concessionists, and constructors, one thing remains sure, and that is, that the stronger the position of India on its North-West Frontier, and the greater the influence of our political and consular officers at Meshed, in Sistan, at Bushire and Baghdad, the more probable is it that Her Majesty's Government will be able, when the critical time comes, to acquire for Great Britain that which she considers her due, after years of patient work and watch and ward. If a Trans-Indus Province is to be created, let it be one Province, under the administration of one man, and that man directly under the orders of the Viceroy in Council. There is no gain in a divided authority. We cannot have two administrators, the one dealing with the eastern and the other with the southern border of Afghanistan. The Amir's territory marches with India from Wakhan to Sistan, and we want one administration from one end to the other of those marches, and to the shores of the Gulf of Oman. Karachi is the natural port of Lahore and the great Panjab Province. Let Sind then be handed over to the Panjab Government, the interest of which it is to foster in every way the progress of Karachi. It is then that the whole of North-Western India will be able to get

its mails direct, instead of *viâ* Bombay. The Valley of the Indus will then have a fair right to claim the title foretold for it by Richard Burton—that of the “Happy Valley.” Where the line of demarcation between Sind and the Trans-Indus Province should be drawn is, we think, at a point a little south of Sukkur. The Sukkur, Ruk, Sibi line, as well as the Sukkur Bridge fortifications, should be under the control of the Trans-Indus Provincial Government. The first line of the defences of “the Frontier” must be under one ruler, and the army that holds those defences must be under one chief. This will need a redistribution of the four army commands. But already the Panjab command far exceeds in size its fellows. From the first it was strongly urged by the Indian Press that the Madras and Bombay commands should be reduced and merged in one, that Burma should be either independent or merged in the Bengal command, and that Sind and Baluchistan should be added to that of the Panjab. There were thus to be only three commands. A fresh distribution should arrange for four or five, as might seem best, thus: (1) Trans - Indus, including Karachi Port and Defences; (2) Panjab; (3) Bengal; (4) Madras and Bombay; (5) Assam and Burma. This, however, is a mere matter of detail. One thing is certain, and that is that the day is approaching when the north-eastern (Assam and Burma) command will attain an importance which it does not at present possess. The British Empire will then acknowledge a second “Frontier.”

## THE COVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE OF BRITISH INDIA.

BY A FORMER INDIAN CIVILIAN.

THE snap resolution carried a few years ago in the House of Commons, to the effect that competitive examinations for the covenanted Civil Service of India should be held simultaneously in England and in India soon collapsed into an extinct volcano, or rather into a spent squib. It flared, smoked, flickered for a minute or two, and then sank dead to earth. Everyone who understood the matter had a shy at it. Prime Ministers, Cabinet Ministers, Viceroys of all parties, denounced it. No European who had any real acquaintance with India had a word to say for it. As for the Indian Governments, they were all, except in some slight degree the Government of the benighted Presidency, appalled at it. The punctilious blue-book, in which they demolished it, overthrew it for the second time. When one evening it again raised its head a little in the House of Commons, Sir H. Fowler regarded it as his predecessor Lord Kimberley, as Lord Salisbury, as the Duke of Argyll, as Lord Cross, had already regarded it in the House of Lords, and dealt it a *coup de grace*. But the notion at the bottom of it still gives now and then a sign of life. It crops up here and there as nothing more than the barest equity. It may therefore be worth while, at the risk of being charged with slaying the thrice slain, to expose again the absurdity of the resolution; to show how at once unjust and extravagant is the idea of throwing open to the competition of natives resident in India the covenanted Civil Service of the country.

When the East India Company first enlisted Europeans in its Indian service, the average servant, as Sir John Jardine has pointed out in this Review, only stayed in the country for a few years. Whilst he was there he vigorously

shook the pagoda-tree—so called from a coin then current in Madras—and came home with the fruit.\* Mr. Joseph Hume went out as assistant surgeon at twenty, and returned with thirty or forty thousand pounds before he was thirty. Without special stipulations the Company might have been constantly enlisting Joseph Humes. Their servants, just when they had learnt their work, might have constantly given warning to better themselves. The Company could not dispense with European servants. To retain them on reasonable terms a covenant was devised. A copy of my covenant lies before me. It contains a recital that the servant has been retained by the Company to serve as a member of their Civil Service, and that the retainer is to continue during the pleasure of the Company, with liberty to the servant to resign the service with the Company's permission. Then follow covenants by the servant, of which the most important are not to divulge secrets, not to accept corrupt presents or make corrupt bargains, not to trade, and not to quit India without leave.

At first, every civilian was entitled, at any time after ten years' residence, to a furlough to Europe of three years, with an allowance of £500 a year; and at any time after twenty-five years' service and twenty-two years' residence, to a pension of £500 a year for life. Lord Dalhousie allowed the three years of furlough to be taken in three separate terms of a year each, and made seven years' residence the qualification for each year of furlough. The furlough allowance remained unaltered. Each furlough, however, involved vacation of appointment. On his return from furlough, a civilian might wait for a year or more before he obtained a post equal to the post he had vacated. For a man to submit to this once in his service was a hardship. To submit to it three times was not to be thought of. Lord Dalhousie's alteration became practically a dead letter. Civilians dreaded the consequence of taking furlough more and more. Many served continuously for twenty-two years. Many contrived to get sick certificates

from complaisant doctors. These produced sick-leave for fifteen or eighteen months, or longer, without vacating appointments, and on half of the stipend of the invalid's office—an allowance often double, sometimes treble, and occasionally quadruple the amount of the furlough allowance. One civilian in the sixties actually obtained, before he had completed ten years' service, three grants of sick-leave of fifteen months each. To remedy all this, the Duke of Argyll, in 1870, extended the total period of furlough to five years; allowed one year to be taken at any time after four years' residence; abolished vacation of office as a consequence of furlough, and fixed the furlough allowance at one-half of the civilian's stipend, but at never less than £500 or more than £1,000 a year. He also increased the pension from £500 to £1,000 a year. As to furlough and pension, these, with one or two unimportant variations, are still the rules. These concessions were far too ample. There was no demand for them. As to the furlough, the vacation of appointment was the grievance. It caused much individual hardship when the furlough was taken. It caused much more when it was not. Through fear of the vacation and its consequences, many men stayed in India when the mind or the body needed change. Cases of chronic ill-health and of impaired faculties became frequent. The amount of the furlough allowance had no share in producing these evils, and was never complained of. So with the pension. There was a rule that only a certain number of pensions could be granted in any one year. These were granted according to the seniority of the applicants. Thus, instead of twenty-two years' residence, a residence of twenty-five or twenty-six years was often necessary before the applicant for pension got his turn. From the additional three or four years of residence permanent disease, and even death, sometimes followed. That was the grievance in the matter of pension, and it was left unaltered. The amount of the pension when allotted caused no dissatisfaction. Even in 1870 the increase in these amounts was

appreciable. The exchange has now fallen so low that the extra charge is serious.

The Indian Civil Service contains altogether about a thousand members. Even before the Duke of Argyll's alterations, no other body of men in the world, approaching it in numbers, served under conditions anything like so favourable. Since that time its privileges have been still more unprecedented. It is now possible for every civilian, besides his annual leave of one month, to enjoy at the end of every four years one year of idleness, and at the end of five such quinquennial periods to retire, in the prime of life, on a pension of £1,000 a year. What is the explanation of such unparalleled indulgence? Clearly the difficulty of attracting the men required on lower terms. Who are the men required? Obviously, men foreign to India; men to whom the climate of India is a constant danger; men to whom service in India for more than a quarter of a century is, on the average, impossible; men who, on the average, can only be kept in sound working condition in an Indian climate by the prescription of one year of European idleness to every four years of Indian work. If such conditions were annexed to the home Civil Service, what would be the result? A howl of indignation from every taxpayer in the United Kingdom. If, indeed, there were special work in the United Kingdom which had to be done, and which no one could do so well as a native of India, it might be considered justifiable to tempt the native to expatriate himself and incur the risks of a British climate by some such allurements. But no sane person would dream of offering to any workman for work in his own country such indulgences or anything near them.

After the establishment of its Civil Service, the character of the East India Company gradually altered. It became less and less of a trading company, and more and more of a political corporation. Its writers, factors, and merchants became Bengal, Madras, and, after an interval, Bombay civilians. The territories under its sway expanded concur-

rently. From Fort William it advanced to Delhi; from Fort St. George to near Hyderabad in the Deccan. The work of administration required a constantly increasing body of servants. More and more natives were employed in the lowest duties. Natives, half-castes, and resident Europeans were gradually entrusted with the kind of work originally assigned to the junior Civil Servants. Thus arose what was oddly but expressively called the *uncovenanted* service. Its members, as compared with covenanted civilians, were at first day-labourers or journeymen. No special bargain or covenant needed to be made with them. They were on the spot, ready to hand, in any number. They ultimately comprised, first, the heads of all the lower Civil Courts—Moonsiffs, Sudder Ameens, and Principal Sudder Ameens—whose jurisdiction extended to all complaints relating to property below a certain sum in value; secondly, a number of subordinate criminal authorities, styled deputy magistrates, of whom the highest were co-ordinate in power with a civilian magistrate; thirdly, a miscellaneous body of clerks and permanent officials in the financial and other departments of Government in the capitals. With the conquest of the Punjaub the uncovenanted service received a fresh extension. The Punjaub was at first governed by a commission, composed of a chief commissioner, a judicial and a financial commissioner and commissioners, deputy-commissioners and assistant-commissioners. All these posts, except the first three, were thrown open to the army and to the uncovenanted service, as well as to the covenanted Civil Service. The laws promulgated by the East India Company, and called regulations, were succeeded in 1830 by ordinances passed under a different system, and called Acts. To the Punjaub the regulations were declared not to extend. The Punjaub was consequently styled a non-regulation province. When Oude was annexed, it was treated in these respects like the Punjaub. The Central Provinces, Assam and Coorg were afterwards put into the same category. The population of the Punjaub was warlike

and rebellious. The Civil Government of a division or of a district in the Punjaub had something in it of a military governorship. Many officers in the Indian Army were accordingly included in the Punjaub commission, and afterwards in other similar commissions. They gradually rose to high rank. Every member of a non-regulation commission administered civil, revenue, and criminal justice. In such a commission a commissioner was, amongst other things, a judge of appeal, to whom an appeal lay from ten or more courts, each exercising high jurisdiction. The judicial commissioner was co-ordinate with a High Court. His decisions could only be reversed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Yet, in non-regulation provinces, officers in the army were often commissioners. And the judicial commissioner of Oude was actually for several years a Major-General.

Just before the annexation of Oude, the covenanted Civil Service ceased to be a field for patronage. Appointments in it were awarded by an educational competition, thrown open to all natural-born subjects of the British Crown. No one dreamt of a native of India competing. At first no native did compete. After the Mutiny, however, the political power of the East India Company was terminated. India was declared to be a dependency of the Crown. It was solemnly announced that all races would be equal in the eye of the Indian Government. Natives of India then began to compete for a covenanted appointment. Occasionally a native gained one. But such successes were rare, and involved a costly residence in England. The experiment has therefore been tried of instituting a native covenanted Civil Service, to be filled by an educational competition in India itself, and of transferring to it some of the lower posts previously reserved for the covenanted service. The experiment has not been very successful. It has not had the effect of dissuading the more ambitious natives from competing in London. This may be partly due to an extraneous cause. On the transfer of India to the



Crown, the Sudder Courts, wholly manned by covenanted civilians, were amalgamated with the Supreme Courts, wholly manned by English barristers. Seats in the High Courts, as the amalgamated courts were styled, were to be filled by covenanted civilians and by British barristers of any nationality in equal moieties. Natives of India soon flocked to the English Bar. They were not long in reaching the benches of the High Courts. There is now scarcely a High Court without a native member, but a native judge draws only two-thirds of the stipend of a European judge.

The effect of all these changes has been greatly to reduce the appointments originally reserved exclusively for the covenanted Civil Service. Simultaneously, however, the territories under British rule have been greatly increased. The number of appointments for which covenanted civilians alone are eligible is now greater than ever. About seventy probationers are selected every year. After making due allowance for intermediate casualties, the number annually despatched to India may be put at sixty.

Here, perhaps, a comical delusion as to the necessary qualifications of a covenanted civilian may be parenthetically noticed. The *Times* recently announced that, out of forty educationally-qualified probationers, twelve had not yet passed the riding test. A delicious superstition lurked therein. Insular Britons firmly believe that an Indian civilian is nowhere unless he can ride. It is not knowledge of vernaculars, readiness in reading, writing, and speaking them; it is not legal lore; it is not financial skill; it is not quick-wittedness, courage, or resourcefulness—but, of all things in the world, equestrianism that is the one thing needful to this body of magistrates, judges, and administrators! The delusion began in the days of the Mutiny. A Bengal civilian wrote some telling letters in a London paper about an Indian civilian's duties. "The greater part of his time," he said, "will of course be passed in the saddle." I knew the writer, and spent a pleasant day with him and his wife in their country bungalow. The greater part of

his time was passed in a parlour with a table and an easy-chair in it. His only steed was a raw-boned pony. The pony's duty was to draw a buggy. Whether man or wife ever mounted him—whether, indeed, he had a saddle—I almost doubt. In ordinary civilian's work, so far as I saw, the saddle played no part. Of my first two collectors, one, a C.B., I never saw on horseback. The other drove about in a luxurious dogcart with double springs. He once laid a dāk of horses, and was thrown and injured—where, in answer to my anxious inquiries, he respectfully declined to state. On the other hand, one of my early colleagues was a perfect Centaur. This accomplishment his duties did not once bring into play. In the abstract, no doubt, it is regarded as essential. A commissioner told two raw recruits that they must never be content until they thought nothing of riding thirty miles before breakfast. One of the earliest competition-wallahs, not “a young man of the John Gilpin class,” but the son of an Irish Viscount, while struggling to acquire this *sine quâ non*, was thrown on his head in Bombay and killed. Another, who has since filled the very highest posts, narrowly escaped the same fate at Benares.

That the whole idea is a craze becomes evident on the most superficial glance at it. In an Indian district, the covenanted officials all live at the chief station. The furthest points of the district lie at distances of 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, and even 80 miles. In the cold weather, every part of the district may perhaps be visited by a covenanted official. For one day in each year, that is, a given village may possibly include a collector or his delegate in its residents. During all the rest of the year, the civil staff can only know what is going on there by native report or by personal inspection. How is such an inspection to be made? On horseback, says the craze. Up to what distance is this possible? Every official has from eight to ten hours' work every day at the chief station. During three-quarters of the year, the heat of the sun between ten and four o'clock is supposed to be deadly. A ride of twenty miles each way at

the rate of ten miles an hour would take up four hours. If, then, the civilian started at five o'clock in the morning, and finished his local investigation within an hour, it would be just possible for him, with some risk of sunstroke, and the prospect of eight or nine hours' work, beginning at eleven o'clock, on his return, to visit a point in his district at a distance of twenty miles from the chief station. Further out and home than this no seat on horseback could take him. If he went further in the morning, he could not return until the afternoon. In that case he could drive as easily as ride. The value of the accomplishment varies inversely with the distance. The need of personal inspection increases directly with the distance. Something might perhaps be done with camels. But it is not everyone who can ride a camel. Mr. A. A. Knox, of Marlborough Street fame, injured himself for life by venturing to ride an Algerian camel alone. I have often ridden on a camel by moonlight behind a camel-rider, but could not bear the camel's trot, which was like the highly-magnified trot of a donkey. I proceeded at an easy amble at some six miles an hour. Twenty miles an hour might perhaps be got by an expert rider out of a good camel. Be this, however, as it may, it is alarming to think of what may, at any moment, be going on at any point of an Indian district lying further than thirty miles from the chief station. The remedy is not centaurs in the officials, but breaking up the huge districts into subdivisions, with a resident civilian at the head of each, who should live at the centre of a circle of not more than five miles' radius.

The answer to the question, What is the covenanted Indian Civil Service? is now apparent. It is substantially a body of a thousand picked men of British parentage, caught at first by a carefully-devised literary competition, then specially trained, and afterwards retained for years in the service of the Crown by conditions indulgent beyond all precedent. To keep them in a tropical climate in fair efficiency, every man may without injury to his prospects,

alternate every four years of service with one year of amply-allowanced furlough, and may at the end of five of these quinquennial periods, when he will be by some years less than fifty, retire upon a pension of £1,000 a year. In order partly to keep down the number of this highly-privileged service, and partly to give employment to natives of India, one large class of appointments has been thrown open to the public, and another large class has been specially reserved for a native local service. In the result, the appointments open to the covenanted civilians are, first, those for which they are eligible conjointly with the general public, and, secondly, those of the highest rank, for which they are naturally supposed to have exclusive qualifications.

What is more monstrous than to admit a native of India into such a service as this? The mere idea is, on the face of it, absurd. What need has such a man, serving in his own country, of a year's furlough at the end of every four years? Why should such a man be allowed to retire upon a handsome pension at the age of five or six and forty? What would be thought in this country of giving such a pension at such an age to any member of the home Civil Service? Lord Cottesloe filled for many years, as Sir Thomas Fremantle, various high political posts. He was then made Chairman of the Board of Customs, and afterwards a peer. He retired at the age of seventy-six. His pension was £1,200 a year. When the covenanted Indian Civil Service was thrown open to competition, natives of India ought to have been expressly excluded. At that time no one imagined that a native candidate would ever appear. Now that there are several native candidates every year, and that one or two of them are usually successful, express exclusion and not increased facility is what is wanted. The snap resolution of the House of Commons was a triumph as much of ignorance as of adroitness. If the men who voted for it had understood the subject, it would scarcely have found a supporter, and a

resolution expressly excluding from the competition all natives of India would have been carried unanimously.

What appalling prejudice, what rank injustice! exclaims the insular philo-Indian. When the sovereignty of the Queen was proclaimed, it was declared that there should be thenceforth no distinction of race in the Indian Empire. The promise has been partly kept by opening to natives the benches of the High Courts. It should be fully kept by opening to them also the highest civil and military places. When a Kulin Brahmin is a peer and Viceroy, when a Mohammedan is a Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief, when one of the Parsee Baronets is Governor of Bombay, faith will have been kept with the noble natives of India. He is wrong. The rank injustice is in his own view. And on whom would his view, if followed, work rank injustice? On the whole of the people of India. If, indeed, as has been already said, there were special work to be done in the United Kingdom which no one could do so well as a native of India, it might be justifiable to tempt the native to do the work by some such allurements as are offered to the covenanted civilian. To offer him such terms for work in his own country is outrageous. In order to induce a skilled British workman to do the same work in India as he does at home, you must offer him three times as much pay. Even then he will make a favour of accepting the offer. A barrister with a practice of £2,000 a year would turn up his nose at an Indian judgeship, and would scarcely take the legal membership of council even at the old stipend of a lakh of rupees. When the rupee was at par, one-third of an Indian stipend represented the English equivalent. Now that the rupee is worth about sixteenpence, the English equivalent would be got by changing every rupee into fivepence. Thus, 1,200 rupees a month would be £300 a year, and 3,000 rupees a month would be £750 a year. When a native of India is appointed to a covenanted post, he draws only two-thirds of the stipend. One-third would be nearer the mark.

The people of India, it seems to be always forgotten, pay these civil stipends. They are the persons who would be aggrieved if the snap resolution were acted on. The Government of India are merely trustees for them. The duty of that Government is to get what skilled labour they want at the lowest rate in the market. To employ natives of India at three times the market rate is to commit a fraud upon a power. Nor is it only a fraud; it is a blunder. The population of India is not homogeneous; its 250 millions comprise many varieties of race and creed. Many of the races hate each other; many despise each other; many of the creeds would, if they could, exterminate each other. If they cannot destroy each other in this world, they condemn each other to everlasting perdition in the next. They can all endure the supremacy of Britain. To submit to the rule of any other race would be to many of them an intolerable indignity. If a Bengalee were made Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub, the Sikhs, although they profess a form of the Hindoo religion, would revolt within a year. If a Hindoo were made Commissioner or Collector of Patna, that portion of Islam would be in flames. Not long ago a Mohammedan actually gave expression to this view in the *Times*. "We like the British raj," said he, "but we will not submit, under a so-called British raj, to be governed by Hindoos. There are too many Hindoo civilians already. What is wanted is fewer Hindoos and more British civilians."

In short, a native member of the covenanted Indian Civil Service is a contradiction in terms. You offer a covenant to an Englishman to attract him to India, and to keep him there. Besides the express covenants on the part of the civilian, there is an implied covenant by the Crown not to dismiss the servant so long as he performs his covenants. Natives equal in qualifications to those who have succeeded in the competitions are to be found in India in any number. There is no need to attract them. In the case of Britons, the demand is greater than the

supply. In the case of natives, the supply is much greater than the demand. Nor is this all. The qualifications required in Britons, carefully as they have been elaborated, do not commend themselves to everyone. You want one sort of man, it is often said, you catch another. You want a man of the world, you catch a bookworm; you want a man sound in wind and limb, you catch a weakling. This view may be not altogether unfounded; instances may be brought forward to support it. The answer always is that, on the whole, the new plan works better than the old; that selection by competition produces fewer bad bargains than selection by patronage. In effect, the present system would perhaps be described by those who know it best as a tolerably good rough-and-ready mode of catching the sort of Briton that you want. But no one pretends that it is applicable to any men but Britons. Why, then, attempt to extend it unaltered to natives of India? Before you can hope to catch the sort of native that you want, you must alter your conditions. If you bait your native hook with British flies, who can say what sort of fish you will land? One example will make this clear. In Macaulay's celebrated report, on which the original scheme of the Indian Civil Service competition was based, occurs the following passage: "It would be grossly unjust to the great academical institutions of England not to allow skill in Greek and Latin versification to have a considerable share in determining the issue of the competition. Skill in Greek and Latin versification has, indeed, no direct tendency to form a judge, a financier, or a diplomatist; but the youth who does best what all the ablest and most ambitious youths about him are trying to do well, will generally prove a superior man. Nor can we doubt that an accomplishment by which Fox and Canning, Grenville, and Wellesley, Mansfield and Tenterden, first distinguished themselves above their fellows indicates powers of mind which, properly trained and directed, may do great service to the State." How can this idea be applied to Indian

candidates? In their case, Persian odes should take the place of Alcaics, Arabic distichs that of epigrams, and Sanscrit odes that of Greek iambics. It is, indeed, abundantly clear from the whole report that the eminent men who signed it—Mr. Macaulay, Lord Ashburton, Mr. Melvill, Mr. Jowett, and Sir John Lefevre—never thought of attracting any but British candidates. If they had been required to include in their scheme machinery for filling a certain number of appointments with natives, they would, we may be certain, have drawn up a separate scheme applicable to natives alone.

These views are not based on any disparagement of the natives of India. By many people who ought to know him well, the Indian native often seems to be criticised in an ignorant and prejudiced spirit. The whole body of natives, or special creeds or races, are often described as liars, rogues, simpletons, schoolboys with portentous memories, weak, cunning, treacherous cowards. Such judgments always strike me as highly unjust. Natives, as compared with Europeans, seem to me to display a much higher average of clear, intellectual power, an extraordinary faculty of acquiring languages, and unlimited power of work. A muddle-headed native is never encountered. No amount of intricacy or complication ever seems to blur the image on a native's mental retina. He seems to surpass all other foreigners in acquiring English. His written proflusions in that tongue are most unhappy. From some mysterious cause, he has set up for himself a standard of written English which is a strange mosaic of slang, tags, and colloquialisms. Where he got it from, who shall say? His speech is quite free from it. He speaks English without the slightest accent, and with great fluency and correctness. If he would dictate to a shorthand-writer in his ordinary speech whatever English he wants to write, his writing would be admired for its purity. Morally he is a more difficult subject to estimate. His standard of honour is different from that of Europeans, but I am not sure that



it is lower. There are as many faithful and brave men in India as in any part of the world. What the native of India seems to want is a governor to his steam-engine. He has been downtrodden so long, that free agency is a dangerous novelty to him. He ought to be emancipated by degrees. On the bench of a plural court he may, perhaps, safely sit. To entrust to him any independent post, even a judicial post, is hazardous. Let him remain for the present a subordinate under supervision. Do not endanger our rule in India by opening to him the posts still reserved for the covenanted Civil Service.

What that service really needs is reform in a very different direction. In its present state it is an anachronism. If there is no excuse for offering its unparalleled advantages to natives of India, there is little more for offering them to any but exceptionally-qualified natives of the United Kingdom. The existing number of covenanted civilians is far too great. Nearly seventy probationers, as has been said, are selected every year. After making due allowance for subsequent casualties, the number of men annually despatched to India cannot be much short of sixty. Of these, some, no doubt, will pass the chief part of their service in high work, for which no one but a razor like themselves would be fit. The majority will be, for many years, mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. Razors though they be, they will be put on a level with axes, and employed in felling trees. But in the annual sixty are there any, and if any how many, axes? Until a civilian gets a district, he does work which can be satisfactorily done by inferior men at a lower rate. He requires a little of the lower work to qualify him for the higher. All lower work that he does beyond the qualifying minimum is waste. If he is only fit for lower work, he is a bad bargain. How many bad bargains have succeeded in the competitions?

Under a wise system, no covenanted civilian would spend in district work more than ten years, during four or

five of which he would be in charge of a district. Judge-ships would be filled by trained lawyers. The covenanted civilian during the rest of his service would be a secretary, a commissioner, or a governor. Under such a system, the annual supply of covenanted civilians might be gradually reduced to twenty, and ultimately to ten. An appointment in the Indian Civil Service would then be as much in request as a Colonial Office clerkship. The adoption of English as the official language would do away with the costly service altogether.

## SIAM AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.\*

BY THE HON. JOHN BARRETT,

Late U.S. Minister in Siam.

At the present time when the interests of all the world are turned towards the East, as they have never been before, with the great and rapid development of English interests and the forward policy of the British Colonies in Hong Kong and Singapore, with the satisfactory elements of successful government in Burmah and with the close proximity of the great French colonies in the Far East, and then, finally, with America's new position, which has resulted through the occupation of the Philippines in South Eastern Asia, we find it is only natural that Siam should come before the eyes of the world more than it has ever done before. The telegrams which come to us tell us of various things that are happening there. Siam of to-day is almost as important in one way to the British Empire as portions of China are, because a great part of its western juncture is coterminous with the juncture of the British Empire in Burmah and the Malay Protected States. The geographical position of Siam is really the most important in South Eastern Asia. By a glance at a map your readers will be convinced of the influence and power of Siam, and they can appreciate it in no other way. Although it is out of the line of the general traffic, although the majority of the steamers going from Europe to Hong Kong and Shanghai do not stop at Bangkok, yet Siam is so located that it is easily approached from either Singapore or Hong Kong. Bangkok, the great capital, which to-day, in my opinion, is one of the most prosperous cities in Asia, is on the north, about 840 miles from Singapore and about 1,200 miles south-west from Hong Kong, and to-day they

\* For the discussion on this paper see "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this *Review*.—*Ed.*

are in no closer touch than England is in the Far East with Bangkok, the capital of Siam. Its relations to Burmah are so close that with the development of the British Empire in Burmah it is necessary in the interests of Britain to consider all the time its relations with Siam. On the east the entire line of Siam also being coterminous with French territory, the French are constantly considering the questions which frequently arise between them and Siam, with the result that they think their interests are equally as great as those of Britain. It is not for me to enter into a political discussion. It may be, and I believe that France is as earnest in its claims as Britain is. But the future will largely determine whether British or French interests are to be dominant in this independent country. The Straits Settlements and Hong Kong are greatly dependent upon those interests for a great amount of trade, not only on account of Burmah but on account of the prosperity of the two important and great Colonies of Hong Kong and Singapore, as nearly all the goods exported and imported pass through either Singapore or Hong Kong, giving them a controlling influence in the development of the trade of that place. Between Hong Kong and Bangkok are a line of some twelve or fifteen steamers, while between Bangkok and Singapore are a line of eight or nine steamers, which carry products that pass largely through British hands. It is natural for Britain to look with some chagrin at the news that the line between Singapore and Bangkok had passed into German hands. I do not know whether this is true or not. If it is, it behoves Great Britain to look to the establishment of a proper rivalry in the matter of controlling that trade because it stands to-day with great possibilities before it.

Siam and Bangkok also stand in a position where they can largely have an approach to Southern China. The connections of Northern Siam with the south-western corner of China are so important that, were some other country to gain control of Siam, she would practically be

in control of a gateway leading into the southern portion of the Chinese Empire and the Yangtze Valley. In looking at the population of Siam it is probably a safe estimate to say that it approaches at the present time about 7,000,000. It has been said that it approaches perhaps rather about 10,000,000. But having been into most of the northern parts of Siam I am doubtful about its even exceeding 6,000,000. I doubt if Siam has more than 6,500,000 or 7,000,000, but this shows the possibilities of great development. I know a great many British officials in India who have been in Siam. They tell me that in travelling through the country they had been impressed with the immense possibilities there were—the possibilities of its holding an immense population, 25,000,000, or 30,000,000, or 40,000,000 of people. The population of Siam has one very curious element, and that is the very large preponderating Chinese element in Bangkok, with branches all through the interior. That element is so large that to-day in Bangkok it controls practically all the trade and commerce of the place, hardly any Siamese merchants being engaged in business to any great extent. The Chinese have come down in large numbers from Hong Kong to Siam, and at present they are the leading merchants of Bangkok. They are continuing to come down to-day in great numbers. Almost every steamer has from 500 to 1,500 Chinese, and in Siam they find employment very easily, because the Siamese are not people who are very fond of labour. Of this population in Siam of say 6,000,000 or 7,000,000, I think I make no over-estimate when I say that nearly 1,000,000 are in the priesthood. In travelling up the great Menam River for 350 miles before I struck the mountains, it was absolutely impossible to get out of sight of a temple. This may be very discouraging to missionaries, but it is only right that I should tell them of it. You cannot pass any bend of the river or any turn so quickly that you can get out of sight of a temple with its beautiful little pinnacle reaching up towards

heaven through the surrounding trees and shrubbery. And in each one of these temples there are from 20 to 300 priests. Every morning you will see priests going out with their baskets on their arms to get their rice. This does not represent, however, the active list of priests. Among the 1,000,000 not over 300,000 are thoroughly active. But the other 700,000 probably represent men who go through the priesthood to citizenship. The requirements are that every man shall be a priest at some time in his life. Even the King himself has been for nearly a year in the priesthood, and nearly all the leading princes of Siam have been the same. In one sense it is a finishing education. The schools are nearly all in the temples, and when a man has passed through the priesthood he has practically graduated. When you go out and see the large number of men clothed in yellow, you are impressed with the great hold that Buddhism has in Siam. Siam to-day is the one independent country which is the stronghold of Buddhism. The King himself is striving to bring out its noblest qualities. I would say in passing that the King, while thoroughly in favour of upholding Buddhism, is in sympathy with every other form of religion throughout his kingdom, giving full liberty to all missionary effort. Shortly before I left the kingdom the King sent for me and asked me if there was anything he could do to advance the welfare of the American missionaries who were located there. At the same time, Bangkok is entirely cosmopolitan. Not only Chinese and Siamese are there but Malays, Japanese, Portuguese, Javanese, and others, and the diplomatic and consular representatives of the leading countries of Europe and America. I would say this for the people of Siam, that while they are indolent as far as the masses are concerned, they are in their habits particularly clean. Strange as this may seem, it is the fact, and the more you travel through the country you are impressed that this is so. If a lack of cleanliness impresses itself upon the traveller, it is only in the large cities where

there are different influences. In all my travels through Siam, which were probably more extensive than almost any other foreign representative who has been there, I never experienced a single sign of hostility. On the other hand, I was treated with the greatest kindness and generosity, and never was I called upon to show my passport, everybody taking it for granted that it was all right that I should be travelling in the interior. I never had anything stolen, and I never yet slept in a house or private building with my room-door locked. Very frequently I had very considerable sums of money, but I never lost a penny.

Looking at the area of the country, Siam to-day is less in area than it was in 1893; but at the same time taking into consideration that portion of it which is of real value, it is considerably larger than England, Ireland and Scotland combined. It is made up of an area which, from its conformation, is greatly suited to agriculture and other manual industries. The conformation of the country in the south is quite different from that of the country in the north. The south possesses one of the most magnificent valleys that I ever saw, although it has been my privilege to travel through a great portion of China, the United States, and South America. When I passed from south to north and came into the Lâos States, I was impressed with the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast extent of the area which could be cultivated and developed, and with the number of mountains and hills which were covered with magnificent forests. There are very few countries in Europe that possess more varied formation or more varied population than Siam.

At this stage of my observations, I shall give a few extracts from a very recent report which I made to the American Government:—

"I would note that as far as trade is concerned Bangkok is the only entrepôt of importance, but it is a far greater and more prosperous one than ninety-nine of every one hundred persons in Europe or America suppose. Bangkok is about 1,200 miles south-west from Hongkong, 850 miles north from Singapore, and on the Menam river approximately 30 miles from

where it debouches into the Gulf of Siam. A line of 13 steamers runs to Hongkong and another of 9 to Singapore, while numerous tramp vessels and many ships enter this port. If steamers go direct, they make the distance to Hongkong in 6 days and to Singapore in  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days.

"Bangkok has a population of not less than 450,000 and is estimated by some authorities to have 600,000 to 800,000. Siam's total population is estimated to be anywhere from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000. The area is approximately 250,000 square miles or nearly the same as that of the state of Texas. It is larger than either Japan proper or Korea.

*"In both political and commercial importance it is the third independent Kingdom of Asia, ranking after Japan and China, and before Korea and Persia."*

"Although located to one side of the regular through trade routes of the world, Bangkok is one of the busiest cities in all Asia. Only Shanghai of Far Eastern ports presents an air of greater prosperity and activity. This does not mean beauty of streets and imposing business structures, for Bangkok has neither beauty nor solidity in these respects. The streets are dirty and most of the houses are of that light nature which characterizes the tropics, except that the residences of the leading foreigners, Princes of the Kingdom, and principal Chinese merchants, are usually serviceable, and sometimes handsome, buildings of brick and cement. These same dirty streets, however, are never deserted, and fewer loafers are seen than in American and European capitals. The river Menam that flows through the heart of the city and forms its great avenue of trade and travel, as well as deep, ample, and safe harbour, proves to the most sceptical Bangkok's wealth and importance as a business centre."

But at the same time while I am discussing the favourable advantages which exist there, it is only right for a proper apprehension of the country that I should state some of the unfortunate features, especially those which affect trade and commerce :—

*"An unfortunate feature of commerce at this port is the seeming lack of active interest manifested by the Siamese themselves. The conditions of trade might be easily improved if even a small part of the energy exerted and money spent in pageants, cremations, and temporary displays were devoted to the advancement of the port's welfare. The Siamese are not traders in the comprehensive sense, and confine themselves to small operations. It is remarkable but true that there is not one single large wholesale exporting or importing house managed by pure Siamese. Trade is largely in the hands of the Chinese, who form a considerable proportion of Bangkok's population, while next, in bulk and value handled, rank the European and Indian merchants. But what I say does not mean that the Siamese are inimical to commerce. Not at all—only strangely passive and even inconsistent. While an excellent postal system prevails, the telegraph lines are often in a neglected condition; while a skilfully managed little navy excites admira-*



tion, the failure to promulgate and execute proper harbour regulations is disappointing ; while money is lavished on a railway that runs 150 miles into the jungle, dredging the bar at the mouth of the Menam, which any one of a score of American dredging experiences, with far more difficult conditions, proves would be done with comparative ease and reasonable cost, is hardly considered. *Believing, on the other hand, in being perfectly fair, I give the Siamese Government credit for imposing far less direct restrictions on trade than many other lands, and in, individually as a people, treating foreigners with kindness and respect whether their negotiations limit them to Bangkok or compel them to travel far into the interior.* It is certainly to Siam's credit that an ordinary foreign traveller can go all over the Kingdom without a passport and be treated with consideration, although he is expected to have a passport, and is so advised by his Minister or Consul.

"Although Bangkok has long possessed strong branches of powerful European houses, and money-making schemes have been launched within the last few years that have done quite well, *there is yet abundant opportunity for further effort.* There must be hundreds of miles of railways built to open up the interior where waterways are insufficient, new canals dug and old ones dredged, more gold mines operated, coal deposits of better quality discovered and worked, agricultural conditions improved and acreage under cultivation doubled, extensive water-works provided for Bangkok, sanitary systems carried out, additional electric street-car lines constructed, operations in milling rice and preparing teak-wood for export—the two great products of Siam—further developed, electric-lighting and ice-making facilities increased, the river bar eventually dredged, and telegraph and telephone lines repaired and extended, if Siam would occupy the position in trade and commerce that Nature has done her part in enabling the country to take."

In this report I refer to the division of interests, and point out that at present fully 80% of the trade of Bangkok is in the hands of British houses, and fully 80 to 90% of the imports are brought there in ships bearing the British flag. As far as Bangkok is concerned I must say in all my experience of people throughout the Far East, from Singapore to Vladivostock, I was never in a city which was more interesting in all its phases and in one which would interest one more. Its location is one which offers many inducements to the traveller and the merchant. There we find a degree of progress which has not been equalled in some of the other capitals of the Far East. Long before many of the other capitals had electric light and electric tramways Bangkok was in possession of them, and to-day it is one of

the best-lighted cities in the world. There are much better facilities for getting about in Bangkok than there are in London. There is also a perfect telephone system. There are certain diseases incidental to Oriental towns, but the death-rate is not greater than in cities of the West.

The temples, the palaces, and the homes of the princes, as well as the homes of the principal people, are of great interest. As to the future of Bangkok, I believe that it will take its place along with the other great cities of the Far East as the leading entrepôt; and if the conditions are carried out which are now developing for the progress of the country, Bangkok will become almost as familiar as Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, and Colombo. The two principal resources of Siam are rice and teak-wood. The exports of rice amount to 20,000,000 of silver dollars, or £2,000,000. Next to that is the teak, which is used largely in the construction of the men-of-war, and the demand for it is much greater than the supply. At the same time, Siam has in her possession many of the most valuable tin mines of the Malay Peninsular. Gold is being found in measured quantities, but it gives promise of being found in greater quantities; and rubies are found there also. As far as the imports are concerned, it is a country also with great prospects of development.

The business which is being done there at present by Great Britain may be doubled or quadrupled within the next twenty or twenty-five years. Its possibilities largely depend upon railways. There is one great railway running from Bangkok to Ayuthia, a distance of 50 miles, and will be eventually extended to Kurachee, a distance of 100 miles; but it looks at present as if it would be disconnected, because of the French possessions. The latest despatches indicate that the French are looking forward to railway connections between Bangkok and Saigon, the great port of the French on the China Sea. Naturally, the conditions have not been very favourable to direct exportation; but as far as agriculture is concerned, especially in

rice, there is not a country in Asia which has greater facilities for development, there being large portions of land which are yet practically covered with primeval jungle grass. All portions of it are connected with a network of rivers and canals, so that the means of communication are such as to enable the people in the interior to bring their products to the market. The imports in 1897 amounted to about 25,000,000 of silver dollars, or about £2,500,000 sterling. The year before they amounted to nearly 21,000,000 of silver dollars, showing a very remarkable increase ; but I am informed that the figures for 1898, which are not yet out, will be even greater. The exports for 1897 amount to the sum of 32,000,000 silver dollars, or £3,200,000 sterling, which shows an increase of 2,000,000 of silver dollars over the preceding year ; and I am informed that a similar increase at least will apply to this year. This is an indication of great prosperity, because where the exports largely exceed the imports, it means that a large amount of money is coming into the country. Among all the independent countries in the East, Siam is probably in the best position. She has never had a Public Debt ; she has none to-day, and there is no reason why she should have any. I understand that certain great financial agents have endeavoured to convince His Majesty that he should have a Public Debt, but he has not yet been quite convinced on this point.

This leads me to refer to the Government. In this connection the King himself. Although there was an opportunity of seeing him on his visit to England, and of reading and hearing much about him, I do not think anyone is able to understand his personality as well as those of us who were associated with him for five years. The King is, to my mind, the ablest statesman in all the Far East. I do not think there is any man in Japan or China who could outstrip him with equal conditions. I believe that if he were at the head of Japan he would be thoroughly in touch with all the great movements of progress. I believe that if he

were the Emperor of China he would be the man who could solve the problem of that empire. In Siam he is doing all he can, hampered with certain conditions which naturally arise in the tropics and his relations with neighbours. He is a man of intense physical, mental, and moral force; and if he is handicapped in his efforts, it is largely due to the conditions which prevail, and to those under him. But he has in his Ministers many who could rank alongside the leading statesmen of Japan. They are those who have the welfare of the kingdom at heart. Nearly all leading men of Siam speak English with almost as great fluency as they do their native language; and as you meet them at their dinner-parties or in their offices, you find they approach us and deal with us in the same way that an educated Englishman or American would do. I do not doubt that if the average Prince of Siam, or the King himself, were taken into one of our leading clubs he would be a man who would be deemed a capital good fellow. On the other hand, if he were taken to a distinguished dinner-party or to attend a public meeting, and the conditions were not embarrassing, he would do as much credit to himself as would be expected of an Englishman or American. The King of Siam may have his faults and weaknesses, but at the same time he is a man of greater qualities than the world generally appreciates. And I say this in all frankness, because of the fact that my relations with Siam are completely ended. Speaking honestly and fairly, I think it is only right that this should be said, especially as the relations between Siam and England must grow closer. As the system of Government exists in Siam, while it is thoroughly autocratic, and the King is all-powerful, he is advised by a council, which he listens to, and to which he gives power. These are the important men of the kingdom, and have a great deal to say in the affairs of the country. Under present conditions, life and property are as safe in Siam as they are in Japan. The different departments of his Government are, of course, in the process of develop-

ment. Many of them are almost in a chrysalis state ; many of them have reached a high degree of proficiency. The navy is surprising. It cannot, of course, be compared with that of a European country, but there are features of it which, considering the locality of the country and the necessities of it, must excite admiration. It has been largely under the influence and directions of Danes, who have devoted their best abilities to developing it in a proper way. The Post and Customs Departments are very fair. The Customs are administered with very little trouble to foreign representatives, and the Post Department, as far as its connection with other countries is concerned, is quite good ; while that of the interior is in process of development. The country has been very thoroughly surveyed by Englishmen in the employment of the Government, and there are many maps which practically cover all portions of the kingdom. With reference to finance, the department has been under the charge of an Englishman, who has done himself and his country credit by his work ; and they have done a thing in Siam which must follow in China if she is to maintain her integrity. They have done away largely with what may be called the "squeezes" in administration. While formerly officials were paid very small salaries, there is not that temptation to steal that there was. There is an actual allowance for the King and for others—which never existed before—instead of the money going to the different departments according to the will and pleasure of some few princes. In the matter of their great teak-wood forests, they are in the charge of officials and properly protected, and they will be able to supply the demands for teak-wood in the future better than they have done in the past. In the point of sanitation, she is not by any means what she should be. Bangkok is not provided with those conditions of health which a European city is, and unless something is done in that line soon, it will be very detrimental to the health and welfare of the population. The water-supply is lacking.

In the matter of education, they are making some progress. The schools are far from what they ought to be, but there has recently been established a most excellent college under the charge of Englishmen, who are graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, and who are doing excellent work in educating the young Siamese.

In regard to the north of the country, which I visited about two years ago, in that section between Burma and Tonking there is one of the most resourceful areas of land that can be found anywhere in the world. I was astonished with its marvellous fertility. I was invited to take a trip into a mountain some 5,000 or 6,000 feet high, and from the summit of it I saw a reach of country which might have been the Garden of Eden. That is only one section. There are scores of other valleys all through the northern country which are yet in the infancy of their development, and which contain comparatively a small population, but a population which has a considerable buying capacity, when it is put into thorough contact with the outer world; and also one of great promise, the people being of that healthy, vigorous kind that naturally leads one to believe that they have great capabilities. The whole of the North is connected by a system of railways which go down towards the southern section; and in time railways must be built which will bring the country into closer communication with the South, West and East. I hope that in course of time we shall see Bangkok closely connected with Burma, Saigon, and China, so that there will be a general advance all along South and South-Eastern Asia, which is now only promised.

In regard to the relations of Siam and France, I shall not touch upon their political nature, but only upon their material nature. The province of Annam, about which there has been so much discussion, was formerly divided by the Meikong River, part of it being on the Siamese side, part of it on the Tonking side. The French have established themselves in considerable strength at this point. They have main-

tained a military station there ever since 1893 of great strength—a garrison of several thousand men. And naturally it has had an effect upon the efforts of the Siamese, who have not endeavoured to develop the great rich valleys of the country. If the recent action of the French be correct, it gives France a possession down to the British protected states of the Malay Peninsula, and gives her much greater freedom of action. I would call attention to the agreement made in 1896 between France and Great Britain with regard to Siam. The French “sphere of influence” was marked out as extending beyond a certain point on the Meikong River and Cambodia. The resources of this section are as nothing compared with the great valley itself, and although it looked at first as if possibly Great Britain was getting the worst of that agreement, there was practically no gain to France. It acted largely as a buffer between the French possessions and the chief possessions of Siam. But the probabilities are, if an *entente cordiale* between France and England has been established, that the French influence has not been so great as it was anticipated. On the west the French Government wished to have an unbroken line. They wished to get possession of that portion of Siam which leads down to the Malay States, and therefore they asked that the English “sphere of influence” should begin at the mouth of the river. If, as the result of that agreement between England and France, both countries had pushed forward and taken their “spheres of influence,” I am quite sure that Great Britain would have got the best of the bargain. While the French knew what they were about as fully as England did, they at the same time did not gain any distinct advantage as far as country is concerned. This Meikong river to which I have referred runs north through the kingdom, and has branches extending further on into Burma and into the Menam. The Menam river, which forms the great dividing line between the French possessions and Siam, is one of the great rivers of Asia,

and almost second to the Yang-Tsze in its importance ; but at the present time the country around has not been developed on account of the conditions not being favourable to it. In the matter of railway development, the present line of railway starts from Bangkok, and goes up to a certain point, but it will probably be extended to Saigon. The proposal is to construct a railway to Shanghai, and thence across to Rangoon. At the same time, this railway may continue to form connections with the main system, and, as we hope, in time into the great Yang-Tsze Valley. That, of course, depends largely upon the question whether British capital is ready to provide the means for it. I do not think the King is ready to guarantee the interest on bonds, any more than the British Government is prepared to guarantee interest on bonds in some other portion of the world. Regarding the French possessions in Chantabon and Cochin China and Cambodia, I think there is perhaps sometimes a little too strong an element of criticism of French possessions. I believe the French are going through a period of education in order to make these possessions rich and powerful. But this will take a long time, although there are indications pointing to this end ultimately, following largely the same policy as England has adopted in its colonies. I think they are realizing the weakness of many of the methods that they have followed, and that there is a tendency now to launch out into English methods.

As to Burma, it is, in my opinion, a wonderful illustration of English capabilities and English development. I was astonished, when I made a trip through Burma, to see how law and order and business and prosperity prevailed there, going hand in hand, and how, in the interior far away from any English stations, the people seemed to be most happy and contented, and had forgotten the fact entirely that they had lost their independence. I have often mentioned the fact, when discussing the possibilities of the Philippines, that if we could succeed in raising the



same responsive chord in the people who are under our charge, the same as England has done in Burma and the Malay States, success would await our efforts. In Burma, law and order have been established more than in any of the other cities of the Malay Peninsula. I was astonished to see how much had been accomplished in a few years, and to note the resources of the land, and I am certain that the indication at present points to great possibilities of development all through that section of Asia.

I shall not go into more details of the physical, geographical, political and material conditions of Siam. In the space at my disposal, I have tried to give but a passing glance at the various conditions. While I have referred largely in a complimentary way to Siam, I may say it is done in order to help a country which has striven to go forward, and because I believe that the object of the King and the princes and the majority of the people is to make the country a much stronger one than it is, and to convince the world that with proper care they can take their position among the strong and important nations of the world. There is among its leaders that quality which can make it strong if it is properly guided and properly protected. It has its faults and its weaknesses, but it is not for me to discuss them. I believe that Siam, if she is allowed to maintain her independence, will hold her position eventually almost as well in the south as in the north. I hope that Siam will be encouraged in her efforts to go ahead. I believe that if the King and the princes and the leading people of that country are satisfied that the three great nations do not intend to take away from them their empire, but rather to help them, progress in Siam is certain in the prosperity and well being of the people as well as in the administration of good government. The seed is sown which is now springing up, and which will bring forth its harvest in due time. But I wish emphatically to state that the people of Siam depend above all things upon the attitude and policy of Great Britain. Siam, while strong in

her devotion to herself, must admit that, if the controlling hand of Great Britain is taken away, and if the British Empire fails to recognise the great opportunities now presented, and fails to appreciate how much the strength of her Empire in south-eastern Asia depends on maintaining the integrity of Siam, she would be powerless. I hope Britain will give her such support as will enable her to work out her destiny in the best way. I trust that my remarks will awaken further interest in Siam, and thus materially help this most interesting country to work out its own destiny with the proper support of other nations, in order that it may be enabled to take its rank among the other leading Asiatic countries.

## INTERCOURSE IN THE PAST BETWEEN CHINA AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

By T. L. BULLOCK,

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WHEN, through the dimness of the past, we catch our first glimpse of the Chinese people, they were but a very small nation, dwelling in the extreme north-west corner of their present country. In this little angle of the land they were left to progress after their own fashion. To their north, on the vast bleak uplands, were the Tartars, from the earliest days raiders and border robbers, but too uncivilized and unprogressive for intercourse with them to prove an assistance or a stimulus. On two other sides, the east and the south, the land was occupied by barbarous folk, who were at once uncultivated and unaggressive. These last were of the same race, doubtless, as some of the less than half-civilized tribes which even to-day occupy isolated districts amid the higher mountains in the south-western part of the empire.

Behind the Chinese, to the west, lay the desert, cutting them off from the other early civilizations of the world. Still, uninviting as is the track across the desert, between China and Central Asia, there was doubtless *some* coming and going of traders, through whom more than mere merchandise might be transmitted. China certainly owed some things to the West. It seems to be clear that her calendar and her astronomical knowledge were derived from that quarter. Also, a Babylonian origin is claimed, rightly or wrongly I dare not say, for the small number of hieroglyphs from which her complex system of writing has been built up. That the Chinese proceeded so much more rapidly than their neighbours along the path of civilization may be ascribed, at any rate in part, to the fact that they were settled in the one little spot where communication with Central Asia was possible.

By the time of their great Emperor Yü, whose date is generally given as B.C. 2205, the Chinese had expanded beyond their earlier home, and were spreading eastward along the valley of the Yellow River. In a few hundred years more they had become a large nation. They occupied North China from the desert to the sea, and were overflowing into the valley of the Yangtse.

When we come to the sixth century B.C., we have in our hands contemporaneous records, the accuracy of which is indisputable. China was now, and had been for many hundred years, a feudal empire, ruled by a single monarch, but divided into more than fifty States, some large, some extremely small, whose Princes were constantly warring against each other, while they paid but little regard to their supreme lord. Along the southern fringe of the empire, as it then was, on both sides of the river Yangtse, were several large principalities, which owned allegiance to the Emperor, but were considered to be Chinese only in an imperfect degree, and were looked upon as still partially foreign or barbarous.

But the end of the feudal system was not far off. The year 255 B.C. saw the establishment of a new dynasty, that called the Ts'in, when the whole empire was brought under the direct rule of the monarch. This alteration in the government was productive of momentous effects. Hitherto the Chinese gentleman had been a fighting man as well as a scholar, accustomed to take an active share in the petty wars which were constantly carried on. Thus, among the pupils who surrounded Confucius was Tzŭ-lu, the most noteworthy of them all, and the second favourite of his master. Tzŭ-lu, while a student and seeker after wisdom, was at the same time a bold and energetic soldier, who at last, as his master had foretold, actually died sword in hand. But from the time when there was no longer any necessity or any excuse for being constantly at war with one's neighbour, peace became the normal characteristic of the country, and the profession of arms declined. Wars there were

from time to time, both internal and external, which served generally to show how completely the Chinese had become an unmilitary race ; but the campaigns were few and brief compared with the long periods of peace, and generally affected but small parts of the vast country. Moreover, the educated Chinaman gradually came to look upon the profession of arms as inferior to that of learning, and as unworthy of the man of culture. The commanding and the officering of the troops was thus left to men of untrained intellect and inferior capacity, by which change the efficiency of the army was seriously impaired. It is worth while, when referring to this, to take a glance at the neighbouring country of Japan, whose civilization was derived from that of China. While copying the Chinese in almost every other respect, the Japanese retained their feudal system right down to the present day. They abolished it only thirty years ago, after that they had entered into treaty relations with European Powers. As the natural if not the necessary consequence of this form of government, the Japanese gentleman has always been educated not merely as a scholar, but also as a soldier, and has habitually carried arms. Moreover, in accordance with his peculiar code, he was trained to be ready at any moment, should his honour require it, to draw his sword and take the life of any man, including that of himself. It cannot be doubted that this presence of large numbers of gentlemen accustomed to the use of arms greatly facilitated the formation of that admirable Japanese army of whose prowess the world was witness only a couple of years ago.

We just now spoke of the Chinese as having spread into the valley of the Yangtse. Later, the illustrious Han Dynasty, which ruled from about B.C. 200 to A.D. 200 extended their dominions considerably further towards the south ; but it was not till the establishment of the house of T'ang, A.D. 618, that what are now the Southern Provinces of China were regularly incorporated as part of the kingdom. From that time, with few exceptions, China has remained

practically the same, and unchanged. Vast colonial possessions, indeed, have since been added to the empire, but these have never been assimilated to China itself; they have always remained distinct in population, language, and system of government.

Let us now survey the geographical position of the China of the T'ang Dynasty, which, as I have said, in the main was the same as the China of the present day. On the east was the sea, and beyond that, facing China, the Philippine Islands, Formosa, and Japan. Of these the two first mentioned were the homes of ignorant, untamed savages, belonging to the Malay race. Further north lay Japan, whose population, as mixed in its origin as that of the British Isles, early reached a very considerable degree of development. Though the civilization of China permeated Japan, the two nations came very little in contact with each other. No Chinese Emperor, except the Great Mongol Kublai Khan, ever attempted the conquest of Japan. And the immense armada which he despatched was first shattered by tempests on the sea, while those of his soldiers who succeeded in landing speedily succumbed to the swords of the Japanese. If we leave out the excursions of semi-piratical bands, which ravaged the Chinese coast, we find that Japan's military energy never carried her beyond the adjacent peninsula of Corea. Twice in history we see China and Japan coming into serious collision in Corea. In about A.D. 660 the Chinese defeated a Corean-Japanese alliance, and Corea became subject to China. About 1590, when China was very weak, the Chinese assisted the Coreans in opposing the aggression of the Japanese. The war went on till the Japanese desisted, though they do not seem to have got the worst of the fighting. In peaceful arts there was nothing that China could learn from Japan; for up till thirty years ago everything in Japan was copied, imitated, from China, either directly or through the intermediate country of Corea. The Japanese student trained his intellect and stored his mind by the study of the ancient

Chinese classics. Chinese characters were employed by him for writing Japanese words. His pen, his paper, his ink, the counting-board with which he calculated, had all originally been introduced from China. So had the tea which he drank, the chop-sticks with which he ate, and doubtless the very rice which formed the national food. His calendar was taken from China, and so was his copper coinage. From the same source he had learnt to breed the silkworm and weave stuffs of silk. So it was with his porcelain, lacquer, bronze and ivory ware. In one point only was the learner superior to his teacher. Though the material that he worked up might be less fine, and his mechanical skill not so great, still, in what he carved, what he moulded, and what he drew, there was a touch of grace and a fidelity to nature to which the Chinese could never aspire.

On the south of China lay the kingdoms of Annam, Siam, and Burma, not divided from it by any distinct line of demarcation, but still separated by wild tribes, living in a pathless country of mountain and forest, the permanent home of miasma and malaria. By this wide belt China was prevented from conquering and keeping in subjection her southern neighbours. Still less could she gradually convert them into a part of herself by the slower but surer process of steady and persistent immigration. There were a few temporary conquests and frequent recognitions of suzerainty. Indeed, the usual state of affairs in Indo-China for nearly two thousand years has been a formal recognition of China's over-lordship, combined with complete practical independence. In matters of civilization these countries, and especially Annam, borrowed much from China, but China owed nothing to them.

Let us turn to the western side of China. On this frontier the spreading of the Chinese was checked by the mighty mountain ranges which compose the territory of Tibet. The Chinese colonist is *par excellence* a man of the plough. He will push forward wherever he can find a piece of soil fit to till, and there doggedly hold his ground

even in the face of dangerous enemies. But where the land can only carry flocks and herds, he does not enter into competition with the original inhabitants.

Looking at the map of Asia, one might think that through Tibet China would have been brought into intercourse with India, even as at the present day the Ghoorkha missions from Nepaul pass that way on their road to Peking. But no! poor and barbarous Tibet, difficult of access and difficult to traverse, neither had anything herself to offer to China, nor did she afford any means of communication with the world beyond. Even the Buddhism of China is different from that of Tibet, and was brought into the country by a different channel.

Tibet and China at most times had marvellously little to do with each other. There was one period of about a hundred years, between A.D. 600 and A.D. 800, when the Tibetans had an effervescence of energy and were constantly attacking the adjacent parts of China with armies of considerable size. Once at least they were conquered by China; but with brief exceptions they seem to have maintained complete independence, subject at the most to a recognition of suzerainty, until only a century and a half ago. They then called in the Chinese to assist them against the Ghoorkhas, by whom they were hard pressed. Since that time Tibet has been subject to the Emperor of China; but its government continues to be administered by its own priestly rulers, who are allowed to have practically a free hand. The two Chinese Residents, who are supported by a small body of troops, merely act as advisers, and as channels of communication with Peking.

The Ghoorkha missions to Peking, which are still continued, are the outcome of a successful war waged against Nepaul by China on behalf of Tibet at the end of last century. The missions, though nominally political, carry a good deal of merchandise, and so are profitable to the Ghoorkhas. Otherwise, one may be sure, they would have ceased long ago.



But Tibet does not cover the whole of the western frontier of China. Just in the north-west angle of the latter country, north of Tibet and of the semi-Tibetan country of Kokonor, near the region where the Chinese were established in their earliest days, there lies the pass of Chia-Yü Kuan, at the western extremity of the Great Wall. Here is the one highroad leading from China to the West. And what a road it is! First it crosses the great, waterless desert, at this point reduced to a narrow neck, only 150 miles in width. After that, when the desert has been left behind, there lies before the traveller the country now known as Chinese Turkestan, extending to the Pamirs, and a thousand miles in length. This, too, is really desert for the most part, though sprinkled with oases, where the streams run down from the slopes of the gigantic Tien Shan mountains on the north. At the western end of Chinese Turkestan the road divides. By one fork you can go south into India over the snowy passes and glaciers of the Karakorum and the Himalayas. A most formidable task, as the narratives of modern English travellers tell us. Or, keeping westward past the Pamirs, always climbing or descending, by the way of Afghanistan, the traveller can reach Persia, Asia Minor, and the South of Europe.

This was formerly the only road connecting China and Europe. For, until after the Portuguese explorers had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the sea route, though not absolutely unknown, was so little used that it need not be taken into account. Can it be wondered that, as the centuries rolled on, the East remained practically ignorant of the West, and the West of the East; so that the two great civilizations were developed with a minimum of aid from each other?

As regards India, the separation was not quite so effectual. Communication was fostered by a special cause. The land route, also, was not nearly so long as that to Europe. Moreover, as the Chinese established themselves more firmly on the coast in the south-east of their country,

a sea-borne traffic sprang up, which lasted till European vessels made their appearance on the China coast.

The Buddhist religion was the great link between India and China. It has nowhere been recorded how the Chinese first came to hear of this creed. But it is known that in the year of our Lord 65 the then Emperor sent an express mission to India, and that two years later the ambassadors returned, bringing with them priests to teach the new faith. For ten centuries after that time, we are told, missionaries from India were constantly coming both by the overland route and by the way of the sea. At the same time not a few pilgrims from China made the difficult journey to India ; and some of them have left accounts of their travels, giving interesting and valuable information concerning the countries which they visited. Buddhism in China had its alternations of fair weather and foul. After its first acceptance, there came a period of persecution, when its books were destroyed, its temples burnt to the ground, its priests relentlessly hunted down and slain. Then, again, Emperors and Empresses arose, who showered every favour on the ministers of the cult. Later the feeling of both statesmen and people lapsed into one of utter indifference ; and so it has been now for many centuries. There is a curious tale told—a true one—which shows how great at one period were the power and the boldness of the priests. A certain Emperor, grown old and weary of affairs of state, gave over the reins of power. There came a time of national difficulty, and the retired Sovereign was called forth by the popular voice to assume the direction of the government once more. But the priests intervened : the erst monarch had become one of them ; he must pay a heavy fine before he could leave his cell and return to secular pursuits. The priests had their way, and the fine was paid.

What has been the effect upon China of the Buddhist religion ? A competent authority, who certainly had no prejudice in favour of Buddhism, tells us that its salutary influence on the national life of China cannot anyhow be

denied. One freely acknowledges that it must have worked good in early days, when it was a live faith ; and as the present is the child of the past, maybe the Chinese of to-day benefit by what it did of old. But at the present moment the Buddhism of China is a thing of naught. Crowds of people, whether by custom or for amusement, flock to the shrines on certain days, do their obeisances, burn their incense, make a tiny pecuniary offering, and go home again ; but the effect on their thoughts, on their actions, for all one can see, is nothing. The opinion of the educated Chinese themselves is that Buddhism in its early days was good, and its teaching beneficial, but that it has long become merely a machine by which crafty priests cheat and defraud the people.

Besides the religious intercourse, there were occasionally political missions passing between India and China. About the middle of the seventh century after Christ no less than three embassies from different Indian Kings visited China almost at the same time. The cause of this was doubtless disquiet caused by the reports of the Arab conquests. About the same time Persia applied directly to China for help against the Mohammedans. But the unusually powerful Emperor then on the throne wisely replied that Persia was too far away for him to be able to do anything.

With Ceylon China had more to do than with India. Many missions, connected principally with Buddhism, came thence by sea, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries. In 1405 the Chinese Emperor, being indignant at the treatment of his representative, despatched a fleet, which captured the King of Ceylon and carried him off with all his family to Peking. In the early centuries of our era such European articles as found their way to China by sea changed hands and were reshipped at this island.

We shall now refer to Europe. The Greeks and Romans had but a vague knowledge of China. It was to them the silk-producing country, somewhere in the Far East ; but with the exception of one author, Pausanias,

their writers were actually unaware that silk was the product of a caterpillar. It appears that the Parthians were the intermediaries in the silk trade; and in their desire to keep this traffic in their hands, they discouraged communication between the East and West.

The ordinary name given by the Romans to the Chinese, namely, the Seres, is supposed to come from the Chinese word for silk. The other ancient term for them, the Sinæ, seems to have reached Europe by way of the Malay islands and India; and the Sinæ were wrongly believed to be a different nation from the Seres, living more to the south. A third title by which China has been known in Europe, namely Cathay, is much more recent, and belongs to mediæval times. It came to us through Persia, and is derived from the Ki-tai or Ki-tans, a Tartar race who subjugated North China and ruled there from 907 to 1168 A.D.

Let us now look at the Chinese side. About A.D. 70 was one of the prosperous periods, when China attained its greatest expansion. Its armies then traversed Central Asia and reached the shores of the Caspian. In these distant expeditions they heard of the Romans, of whom they speak in the highest terms. The Romans are described in Chinese books of those days as simple and upright, and as never having two prices for their goods. Everything precious and admirable in other countries comes from their land. Ambassadors to their Government are provided by them with carriages, and furnished with money for their expenses. The Chinese called the Roman Empire by the name of Ta-tsin, of which term no satisfactory explanation has yet been suggested.

Their knowledge of the Roman world at that time was not very accurate, as may be seen from the fact that they thought Antioch was the capital of the Empire. But as this city was the seat of the Proconsul who governed the Oriental Provinces, the mistake was not unnatural.

A few centuries later a Chinese work notes that Ta-tsin

(*i.e.*, Rome) is now called *fulin*. It is generally believed that this *fulin* was the Greek *πολιν*, and referred to Constantinople. There is no mention of any embassy sent from China to Rome, except that the Roman poet Florus enumerates the Seres among those whose ambassadors came with presents to Augustus. But it is generally held that the poet was incorrect in saying this. On the other hand, the Chinese record—and the statement seems to meet with full acceptance—that in A.D. 166 an embassy arrived by sea from the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, whom they style An-tun, *i.e.*, Antoninus. It is a most curious fact that this embassy was despatched at all, and still more so that it came by the way of the Indian Ocean and entered China from the South. Details are given concerning the embassy. The gifts which it brought, apparently articles from the tropical East, are noticed as being of little value.

A suggestion has recently been made by Dr. Hirth, which, though unprovable, seems reasonable, and gets over many difficulties. It is that the mission consisted merely of Eastern traders, Roman subjects, who, having reached Ceylon, pushed on thence in the hopes of opening up trade with China, and that with this object they pretended to be official envoys.

Among the travellers from the West, who made the long overland journey, one must not forget the missionaries of the Nestorian Church. The first of these are believed to have arrived in China as early as A.D. 505. In A.D. 551 silk-worms' eggs were brought to Constantinople by a monk who had resided many years in China. The famous Nestorian Tablet discovered in the old capital is a notable record of their missions. This great stone gives a description in Chinese of the Christian religion, and in Syriac writing on it are the names of a number of priests. The tablet affords proof that, when it was engraved, in A.D. 781, the Nestorians were in high favour at Court. But it was not all sunshine with them; for in the year 845 a decree was issued commanding the Nestorian priests, 3,000 in number, to retire

into private life. Still the religion was not crushed out. It appears from Marco Polo that in the thirteenth century they were both numerous and held in esteem. They were also to be found at the Courts of the Mongol Princes in Tartary, as the Roman Catholic missionaries who visited those Princes discovered very much to their cost. After the days of the Mongols the Nestorians disappeared from China. Of the fruits of their labours there is at the present day not one solitary trace remaining.

We have dealt with three of the sides of China; it remains to speak of the fourth.

All along the north frontier of China extends the vast tract known as Chinese Tartary. Bounded on the north by Eastern Siberia, and reaching from Ili, or Kuldja, on the west to the Pacific Ocean on the east, it contains an area of something like three million square miles. The western and central regions, generally called by the name of Mongolia, consist of an elevated plateau, everywhere destitute of trees. In parts it is pure desert, quite without water; elsewhere it is a grassy plain, capable of supporting cattle, but not fit for cultivation. Throughout, the winters are extraordinarily severe, with icy winds, so that only the hardiest of mankind can exist there. Between Mongolia and the Pacific, only just touching the north-east corner of China, comes Manchuria, the ancient home of the present Chinese dynasty. In this region, also, the winters are extremely severe, but its fertile soil and its sufficient rainfall combine to make it a land where the agriculturist can meet with a plentiful return for his labour. The part of it which abuts on the Gulf of Liaotung, at the north of the Yellow Sea, was long ago colonized by the Chinese, and more recently they have spread much further north.

Up to the time when European vessels began to appear on the coast of China, the history of that country's foreign relations is little more than an account of her intercourse with the races living in the northern regions which I have just been describing. It would require volumes to narrate

the relations in detail, and I must confine myself, for the most part, to giving merely a slight general sketch.

The nomads inhabiting Tartary belonged to several distinct races, and were wild, bloodthirsty, uncivilized, constantly warring against each other, but possessing one common characteristic, namely, a fondness for making incursions into China, and plundering the inhabitants of that comparatively wealthy country. When China might happen to be blessed with a strong and capable Government, these incursions were reduced to a minimum, or were altogether repressed. If, on the contrary, there should be a succession of weak and feeble Emperors, the nomads would become bolder, and their attacks more frequent. Next, the Chinese would have recourse to diplomacy; money payments would be made, promises would be given, perhaps daughters of the Imperial house bestowed in marriage on the Tartar chieftains, or there would be an attempt to play off one tribe against another. Solemn treaties would be entered into, with the intention, probably on both sides, of not observing them a day longer than convenient. Then a breach of treaty would furnish an excuse for new aggression. Not rarely the foolish pride of some Emperor, who was too weak to defend himself, would make him refuse to receive the letters of a powerful Tartar Prince, because the latter would not style himself a vassal. Sometimes, even, the envoy would be put to death. And so the ball would be kept rolling, much as has been the case at all times and in all parts of the world, whenever a more civilized race has found itself confronted with one which was at once poorer and more warlike.

But it happened occasionally that there arose in some Tartar tribe a succession of unusually energetic and intelligent Princes. The nature of the struggle was then altered. It was no longer a question of pillaging and border forays. The barbarian chieftain entered on a career of territorial conquest, and carved himself out a kingdom in some part of Northern China. But these intruding dynasties never

lasted very long. The descendants of the founder rapidly adopted the manners and customs of Chinese civilization. As one might expect, after a few generations, they, their Ministers, and their nobles, became more enervated and enfeebled even than a Chinese Court. Some leader of energy arose among the Chinese, and the strangers, sometimes almost without a show of resistance, were driven back into the wilds, which had been their original home; or, even before the intruders had had time to decay, and while they were yet more powerful than the Chinese, another, still stronger race would arise in their rear, crush them, and take their place upon Chinese soil. Among the earliest of the inhabitants of Tartary who gave serious trouble to China were the nation called the Hiung Nu, whose homes lay in the north-west. These Hiung Nu have been identified by European writers with the Huns, and following the general practice we will adopt the latter name.

As long ago as 700 B.C. their inroads had become so formidable that the Chinese Emperor moved his capital in order to be further from their attacks; at the same time he gave his former capital as a fief to a local Prince on the condition that the latter should defend the frontier.

It must have been the incursions of the Huns principally that gave rise to the building of the Great Wall of China. This gigantic construction stretches along the northern frontier of China for 1,500 miles, from the sea-coast to the edge of the great desert. Its builder was the mighty Ts'in Emperor, who, as we have said, destroyed the feudal system and united China into a single kingdom. It was completed in the year 205 B.C., after only ten years of work.

In spite of the Great Wall, the fighting with the Huns went on much as before, till 160 years after Christ, when these relentless enemies of the Chinese became a good deal weaker. It is believed that just at this time a large portion of their nation moved away from their homes in the direction of Europe. However, after another 150 years had



passed by, a Prince of Hunnish race succeeded in establishing himself in the north-west corner of China.

This kingdom was of short duration. But it had many successors, several of them being much more powerful, and lasting for a far longer time. Most of them, too, were founded, not by Huns, but by other Tartar tribes, and in a more eastern part of North China.

It need hardly be explained that in the case of none of these kingdoms was there any general substitution of a foreign for a Chinese population. The Chinese were too numerous for any large proportion of them to be massacred. It would have been equally impossible to turn them into a nation of serfs. They would accept foreign domination, but, unless they were left in possession of their lands, it would have been impossible ever to secure peace. Nor was there any introduction of a foreign civilization. The intruders had none to bring. All that they had, they had learnt in the first instance from China itself.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the rise and fall of the less important kingdoms to which I have alluded, but I will pass on to the times of the greatest family of conquerors that ever rose in Eastern Asia—perhaps I ought rather to say, that has ever been seen on the face of the earth.

In the middle of the twelfth century after Christ, South China was ruled by an Emperor of the native Sung Dynasty, which had been slowly driven southward by the Tartars, and had now its capital at Hangchow, about 100 miles south of the mouth of the Yangtse. Peking and North China were held by the Kin Tartars, newly established and full of vigour. In the north-west was another Tartar kingdom, the Hia, which in some degree acknowledged itself tributary to the Kins. It gives one an idea of the vast scale on which war was carried on in these parts and in those days, when one reads that the King of Hia, who was only the third power in China, boasted that he could put 500,000 soldiers into the field. At about this time there comes into notice a small tribe called the Mongols,

whose home was not far from the present Siberian frontier, and nearly due north of Peking. The Mongols were growing rapidly by conquest and agglomeration, and in 1135 we find them daring to molest the Kins, of whom they acknowledged themselves the tributaries. In 1162 Genghis Khan was born. Succeeding as chieftain while still a mere boy, he was deserted by many of his father's followers, who preferred to attach themselves to other leaders. But the vigour and intelligence of Genghis overcame all obstacles. Always at war, he was continually receiving the allegiance of fresh Tartar tribes, and his power of organization enabled him to weld into serviceable instruments all those who came under his rule. In 1210 serious hostilities commenced between him and the Kins, that is, the Tartars ruling at Peking, war being foolishly declared by the latter on account of his refusing to render homage. The contest went on unceasingly, but in spite of the almost invariable success of the Mongols, it was not till A.D. 1234, after twenty-four years had elapsed, that the last stronghold of the Kins was stormed, and the Mongols became undisputed masters of North China. Genghis himself had died in 1227, and from 1220 to 1223 he had been absent on his wonderful career of conquest which extended from the Pamirs to Armenia. But the rest of the time he was either with or in the neighbourhood of his armies in China. When one thinks of the marvellously rapid successes of the Mongol armies everywhere else, including even those in the heart of Europe, one must acknowledge that the North China of those days was a hard nut to crack.

An invasion of South China—that is, of the purely Chinese Empire of the Sung—followed immediately after the subjugation of the North. But the Chinese Emperor had still some strength left, and did not succumb immediately. Disputes among the Mongol Princes also delayed proceedings. The conquest was completed by Kublai Khan, Genghis's grandson, the Great Khan under whom Marco Polo served, and whose name is familiar to all readers of

the wonderful story of the Venetian traveller. Kublai acceded to the throne in 1260. In 1276 he captured Hangchow, the capital (the Kinsay of Marco Polo), and three years later the last resistance was crushed. Thus the subjugation of South China occupied forty-five years, during the last fifteen of which the war was pushed with unrelenting vigour.

A hundred years later the descendants of Genghis Khan were fleeing back from Peking to the far side of the desert, driven out by the victorious Chinese peasant, who seated himself upon the throne as the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty. China was now united once more under a single native Sovereign. His reign commenced in the year 1368.

During the greater part of the time of the Ming Dynasty, though it cannot be said that there was absolute peace on the northern frontier, still, nothing occurred to menace the stability of the throne, or even to occasion serious trouble. But just at the close of the sixteenth century, when the Ming Empire was falling into decay, a new power suddenly arose in the southern part of Manchuria. These were the Manchus, from whom that country takes its modern name. At the time of the childhood of their great chief Noorhachu (whose early career reminds one strongly of that of Genghis Khan) they were an utterly petty and insignificant tribe. But owing to his personal qualities, in which physical strength, audacity, and intelligence were all eminently combined, their power grew so rapidly that in 1617, ten years before he died, he was able to declare formal war against the Emperor of China. In his manifesto, which has been preserved, he sets forth, it must be acknowledged, a list of very substantial grievances.

The last of the Ming Emperors came to the throne in a time of terrible trouble and disorder. Not only was he constantly threatened and harassed by the Manchus, but the whole of Central China was overrun by rebels. Of these there were numerous bands, under separate chiefs, numbering together several hundred thousand men. The

imperial armies sent against them were not only defeated, but almost utterly destroyed. This went on for several years, until at last there were no funds in the Treasury wherewith to raise fresh troops. By this time the various rebel bands had come together under the command of Li Tzŭ-ch'eng, the fiercest and ablest of all the chiefs, who had either killed his rivals or induced them to acknowledge him as supreme and become his lieutenants. The way to Peking being now open, Li Tzŭ-ch'eng marched against it, no longer a mere chief of plundering brigands, but an open claimant for the imperial throne. When the rebel army reached Peking, it found the gates closed, indeed, but inside no army sufficient to make even a show of defence. The city was captured the following morning, the Emperor in the meantime having committed suicide.

The new master of the empire did not delay in Peking. Two hundred miles further on, where the Great Wall comes down to the sea, lay the one remaining Chinese army, occupying a fortified position on the frontier, and watching the Manchu forces just outside. Against this army Li Tzŭ-ch'eng marched. It consisted of better troops and was better commanded than those which he had previously destroyed. Still, its general, Wu San-kuei, did not consider it capable of making a successful resistance. He therefore concluded a secret agreement with the Manchu Princes, whose army, as we have said, was close by. Li Tzŭ-ch'eng attacked him with great vigour, but while the contest was still doubtful the Manchus unexpectedly poured down upon the assailants, who were soon hopelessly routed. Li Tzŭ-ch'eng fled back to Peking, only rested there long enough to have himself formally crowned Emperor, and then retreated westward with such plunder as he could carry off. Wu San-kuei and the Manchus marched together to Peking, but while the former continued his pursuit of the flying foe, the latter quietly rested at the capital, and, without opposition from anyone, placed the chief of their Princes upon the throne. Never was an empire won with greater

ease. Li Tzŭ-ch'eng's armies all melted away, and he was not able to raise others. The country generally was sick of the rapine to which it had been subject, and was glad to accept peace under any circumstances. Where resistance was made in a few distant spots, it was overcome without great difficulty. Almost all Mongolia had already submitted to the Manchus before the latter established themselves at Peking. The rest of it was annexed easily enough not long after the conquest of China. Since then the various Mongol and other Tartar tribes have given a not unwilling obedience to the Peking Government. Though they have not unfrequently cause to complain of the behaviour to them of individual Chinese in the border regions, they have been well treated by the Imperial Government, whether from policy, from honest desire to do justice, or from fellow-feeling with them as of kindred Tartar race.

Communication between modern Europe and China commenced in the year 1517, when a small Portuguese fleet cast anchor near Canton. The visitors were at first well received, but four years later their misconduct caused the Chinese to rise upon them and cast them out. Intercourse, however, was resumed ere long, and in 1537 a settlement was built at Macao. The Dutch were the next to appear on the scene, and for twenty-eight years, while trading with the mainland, held possession of the island of Formosa, not yet a Chinese possession. The British followed suit not long afterwards, setting up temporary establishments at different points on the coast. After a time trade with all foreigners alike was confined to the one port of Canton. Here it was carried on entirely upon sufferance and under most onerous conditions. Two British embassies, as will be remembered, were despatched to Peking, but they failed to effect anything. Matters only grew worse, till everything was changed by the war of 1841.

It must not be forgotten that, contemporaneously with the intercourse between European nations and China by sea, Russia entered into relations with China by land. Her

first agents reached Peking in 1567. These and others were dismissed without seeing the Emperor, some because they brought no presents, others because they refused to kowtow—that is, to do obeisance to His Majesty. But later this difficulty was overcome, and regular interviews were accorded. The Chinese Emperor once went so far as to send an ambassador himself to St. Petersburg. Trading missions were sent to Peking separately from the political embassies. In 1689 a treaty was concluded between the two Powers, the first ever arranged between China and a European nation. This was followed by a second treaty in 1727, which lasted till the year 1858, and is said therefore to have endured longer than any other known treaty in the world. By this instrument Russia was entitled to maintain a permanent mission at Peking, partly for ecclesiastical purposes and partly for the sake of instructing interpreters in the Chinese language. At the same time regulations were made for the carrying on of trade between the two countries at Kiachta, a town on the frontier between Siberia and Mongolia.

It will be seen thus that Russia's interests in the northern part of the Chinese dominions are of very old standing, and not, as many people seem to suppose, merely dating from yesterday.

There is one more side of modern intercourse with China which must not go without brief mention. It is much more interesting than the story of our mercantile relations at the same period.

European vessels had not long appeared on the China coast, when missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church began to effect an entry into the country. The Society of Jesus, appreciating the importance of the new field, sent out a number of agents, who to fervour and devotion added many other superior qualities: tact, intelligence and scientific knowledge of an unusually high order. The first missionaries, one of whom was the illustrious Matteo Ricci, arrived in 1601 at Peking, where the Emperor received them with

kindness, sanctioned their presence, and even assigned them a stipend. Such a favourable commencement having been made, Jesuit priests, and those of other societies as well, spread rapidly through the country. Occasionally mandarins who disliked them got the upper hand at Court, and edicts of suppression were issued, followed by the persecution of those who failed to leave the country. But, as a rule, their affairs went on prosperously. The most famous of all the Jesuits were Adam Schaal, who was present in Peking at the time of the Manchu conquest, and Verbiest, who came a little later. Both these men rendered most useful services to their employers, casting cannon, publishing mathematical works, and, above all, correcting the Chinese calendar, into which errors had crept. In the year 1671 the Emperor Kang-hi assumed the government of the country, which during his minority had been ruled by a regency. Kang-hi was a Sovereign of exceptional merit and great enlightenment, who would have been an honour to any nation. One of his first acts was to release Verbiest, who was at that time confined in prison. The Emperor continued to show marked favour to Verbiest and his companions; and, but for what happened soon afterwards, he possibly, it is said, would have declared himself a Christian.

For some time past the orthodox feelings of the other Roman Catholic societies in China had been offended by certain practices of the Jesuits, and probably they were stimulated by jealousy as well.

There were two principal complaints, one, that the Chinese word used by the Jesuits for God merely meant the material heavens; the second, that Chinese converts were permitted by the society to perform idolatrous rites to their deceased ancestors. The Jesuits appealed to the Chinese Emperor, who declared that they used the proper word for God, and that the rites permitted were civil, not religious. Nevertheless, the Pope, after careful inquiry, took the opposite view, and issued a Bull in favour of the complainants. He further sent a Legate to the Emperor,

requesting that Chinese Christians might be allowed to submit to His Holiness's decision. The Emperor, however, refused to countenance any missionaries, unless they would promise to follow the original rules of the Jesuits in the above matters; and this of course they were unable to do.

Even during his lifetime persecution commenced in the provinces, and after his death proceedings against the missionaries and their converts were carried out with great severity. Thenceforward the priests who ventured into the country lived a hunted life, enduring much tribulation, and a few of them suffering actual martyrdom.

With the signing of the British treaty of 1842, formal relations began to exist between China and European nations. Everything was changed, and our religious as well as our commercial intercourse was placed upon a new footing. But it is not necessary to enter upon this well-known ground.



## KHOKAND AND CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE Chinese were well acquainted with Khokand quite two thousand years ago; but of course under another name; and there is reason to believe that the populations were then more completely of the Persian race than they are now. To trace the changes that have taken place step by step is not an easy matter; and in any case it is not necessary to attempt such a task at present: the matter which we have now in hand is simply to examine the relations between China and Khokand during the reigning Manchu dynasty, previous to which Khokand was never an independent state.

In 1759 the Manchu-Chinese armies were in pursuit of the hereditary Mussulman *khodjas* or spiritual rulers in Kashgaria—two brothers known as Burhan Uddin and Khodja-djan, who had risen in revolt; and there was reason to believe that they might have fled towards one of the towns in Khokand. The ruler of that state, Erdeni, when called on to prevent their escape, gave satisfactory assurances of his good will: but it fell to Sultan Shah, the ruler of Badakhshan, to destroy the refugees, and thus to directly satisfy the Chinese wishes; however, both countries despatched embassies to Peking in the following year. In a letter from the Manchu Emperor to Erdeni, the latter was reminded that, in destroying the empire of the Kalmucks, China had saved him from their tyrannical power, and that he was now to consider himself a serf of the Celestial Empire.

The next thing we hear is that the Khan of Khokand is charged with invading the dominions of the *bii* or noble of the Ertegana tribe of Kara-Kirghiz. This chief was called Atsi, and his centre seems to have been the town or environs of Ush near Aksu: according to Khokand accounts, he had brought the attack upon himself by plundering the Khokand city of Andidjan. The Emperor wrote in 1763 to both

rulers, and commanded Erdeni to restore Ush to Atsi. A second letter in 1764 warns Erdeni that a man named Abdul Azim (proved to have been conspiring with Khokand in the Khodja-djan interest with a view to seizing Kashgar) has been taken and executed, and that Erdeni will in future be wise if he reports the brewing of such treasons himself: he is again reminded that he must restore Ush to the *bii*. Later on a Chinese envoy to Khokand exercises his persuasive powers with a view to inducing Erdeni to proceed in person to Peking: Erdeni, however, though fairly respectful, only promises to send a man. In 1765 a revolt against China broke out at Ush, and Khokand was ordered to stop any refugees from justice. In 1767 the Emperor writes to the Kazak ruler Aburai or Ablai, and declines to give him military aid against Erdeni. It appears that Erdeni had killed Iskander Khan, brother of Aburai; that Aburai had defeated Erdëni; and that Erdeni had taken refuge in a city called (in its Chinese form) Bishket—perhaps Pishkent.

In 1770 an envoy from Narbadu announces that he has succeeded his grandfather Erdeni. Schuyler says the new ruler, whose name he writes Narbuta, was Erdeni's nephew, and he quotes translated native authority to show that Erdeni was succeeded by Suleiman *bii*, and then (for three months only) by Shahrukh Beg. The Chinese say nothing about Erdeni during 1768 and 1769, and they are hardly ever mistaken on points of descent. Possibly the double meaning of the word *nepos* may have led to a mistake. The explanation probably is that Suleiman was Narbadu's father, and Shahrukh a usurper; and that the Chinese heard nothing of Khokand civil strife until it was all over. Narbadu's envoy was handsomely treated at Peking, and was told to exhort his master to go on obeying the Manchu Residents at Kashgar and Yarkand if he wished to live happily ever afterwards.

In 1777 the Emperor declined to accept from the Kazaks the insidious offer of Tashkend, quite seeing through their

motive, which was simply to enlist China's aid against Khokand ; but he added, "Go and take Tashkend yourself if you can ; but I can't take sides : Khokand, Andidjan, and the Buruts (*i.e.*, Kara-Kirghiz) are as much my people as you Kazaks (*i.e.*, pure Kirghiz) are : " this refusal was subsequently repeated shortly before Aburai's death in 1780. In 1785 Khokand in its turn tried a "dodge" on the Emperor by representing that Khudayar Beg of Khodjend was about to join in an attack upon Kashgar. The Emperor said : "The lands of Narbadu and Uratepe must both be passed before Khudayar can get at Kashgar ; evidently he and Narbadu are trying to get me to aid them." The sagacity of this view is confirmed by Schuyler's account, according to which Narbadu conquered Andidjan, Namangan, and Ush, besides contesting Khodjend with Khudayar, Beg of Uratepe. In 1788 the Emperor wrote to Narbadu complaining that some Kara-Kirghiz from Khokand dominions had been raiding Karateghin ; insisting on restitution ; and inviting him to try and seize the person of Samsak (son of Burhan Uddin), who had become Beg of Khodjend. In 1791 and 1793 further attempts were made to browbeat Narbadu into surrendering Samsak, and in 1795 orders were given that Andidjan settlers in China should no longer be allowed to marry local Mussulman women. In 1797 Narbadu does China a real service by thwarting an attempt on Kashgar, contemplated by Samsak ; but as a good Mussulman he will not be induced to surrender him : on the other hand, in 1798, Samsak, alarmed, makes friendly advances independently to the Emperor, who secretly endeavours to secure the persons of both him and his son. But Samsak is too sharp for that, and will not budge from Uratepe. (I am not sure of the word here written Olo-to-i-pa ; in 1785 the form is Yele-tiepai.) This same year Khudayar is reported to be quarrelling with his brother, and that Narbadu is seizing the opportunity to encroach. Nothing more is said of Narbadu at all after this ; so that we may assume that Schuyler's statement of his defeat and

decapitation in 1799 by Yunuz Khodja of Tashkend explains the reason why.

China was now for many years in the throes of rebellion, and not a word is said of Khokand during the reign of Narbadu's son Alim, who, according to Schuyler, took Tashkend in 1803, and was murdered in his brother Omar's interest in 1812. Schuyler quotes native authority to the effect that Alim was the first to use the title of Khan: it is a fact that the Chinese up to this time only use the word "Beg," but they continue its use to the last. Only the Kazak ruler is styled a Khan by them.

In 1813 a Khokand envoy applied at Yarkand for permission to establish officers in Chinese towns to superintend the Andidjan trade, which request was refused. The Emperor says: "Right! Tell Aimar (*i.e.*, Omar) that we don't send such officers to his dominions, and that if he does not look out we will close down his trade altogether!"

Samsak's death is incidentally mentioned in 1811, and in 1820 his son Jehanghir is reported to have unsuccessfully sounded Omar with a view to seizing Kashgar. Orders were sent to Omar to try and catch him. After several abortive attempts, Jehanghir went to Karateghin. The Emperor thought it better not to question Khokand, though it was pretty plain Khokand was playing double. It would suffice to watch the Andidjan traders closely, and enforce strict passport rules. Nothing is said of Omar's death: according to Schuyler he was said to have been poisoned in 1822 by his son Madali, who joined Jehanghir Khodja in his attempt to recover the ancestral throne of Kashgar, and is said to have connived at his surrender. The Emperor frankly admits that Chinese misrule and corruption are partly to blame for the rebellion: the immediate cause was the rape of an Andidjan woman by a Manchu officer. Madali is first mentioned in 1826, under his full name Mohammed Ali, when he is said to have "peached" on Jehanghir: offers of gold were made to him by Yunuz, Beg (under the Chinese) of Kashgar, and the services of the

Kara-Kalpaks (an Usbek clan) were enlisted by China. For a long time Jehanghir succeeded in giving his pursuers the slip; but at last the simultaneous co-operation of Badakshan, Wakhan, Shignan, Darwaz, the Kazaks, and the Khandjuts was secured; the "screw" was put on Khokand by stopping her trade; and at last the wretched man, hemmed in on all sides, was hunted down in the Karateke Mountains, taken to Peking, drawn, and quartered. In connection with this coalition it is mentioned that Darwaz hoped to secure as a reward the throne of Khokand, and that Khokand unsuccessfully tried to induce the Kazaks to assist in the building of Biskeh city: this is probably once more Pishkent, the birthplace of Yakub Beg in 1825; but I can only make a guess. Jehanghir was not surrendered by anyone, but bodily captured by some Sibo Mongols belonging to the Chinese army, as he was scampering over the hills in flight. Khokand's congratulations to the Emperor on the event were coldly received, and, in fact, even after the capture, her trade was stopped because she would not surrender certain other refugees; besides which additional restrictions were placed upon Andidjan settlers and traders: the latter conducted all the tea, rhubarb, and other trade between China and the west, which was now confined to one big bazaar at Mingyul, north of Kashgar. Attempts were made at the same time to profit by Bukhara's hostility to Khokand. Angry communications took place between the Manchu Residents and the *mingbashi* of Khokand Mohammed "Silipu," whose envoy was sent back *re infectâ*. The Ertegana tribe of Kara-Kirghiz offered to desert the Khokand interest, and migrate to Terek Davan on the Kashgar road: as this place was outside the Chinese posts, the Emperor said he did not object, so long as they took the responsibility of their act upon themselves: he declined on the other hand to ask any favours from Khokand: he felt he now had the whip-hand, and his terms were simply "no surrenders, no tea." Meanwhile in 1830 there began to be rumours that Khokand was preparing for war, and a

bold scheme was considered of marching round from Ili by Tashkend and Talas (Auliata) towards the River Chui in Kara-Kirghiz country, taking Khokand in the rear. It was discovered in 1830 that Jehanghir's elder brother Yusuf Khodja, together with the latter's son, were writing treasonable letters to Chinese Mussulmans from their safe retreat in Bukharā: before long Yusuf, with the assistance of the Khokand officers Isa, Musa, and the Hush Beg, succeeded in pillaging the Mussulman quarter of Kashgar. Schuyler places this event a year or so too early. During 1831 three Khokandian envoys arrived at the Chinese headquarters to protest against the stoppage of trade: they were informed that no trade would be allowed until those traitors who remained in their hands were surrendered: one of them was detained as a hostage, whilst the other two took this message back to Khokand. For some reason the Emperor now completely collapsed: he sent down instructions that Khokand was to have trade free of duty; that the goods previously confiscated from the Andidjan merchants should be returned to them; and that Khokand need not surrender any refugees. How this was all brought about does not directly appear; but it is plain from the Emperor's edicts that he now clearly saw the political mistake of stopping the ancient trade, and moreover had abundant proof of corruption and tyranny on the part of his own officers. Schuyler says the agreement was concluded by the Khokand envoy Alim Patcha at Peking, by which Khokand was to restrain the Khodja pretenders, and in return to receive duties on foreign goods imported at Aksu, Ush-Turfan, Kashgar, Yangi-Hissar, Khotan, and Yarkand; and might keep consuls (*aksakals*) there. Lord Dunmore repeats this statement almost word for word in his book. The Chinese official papers are extremely full, and there is from first to last no concealment in them: there is no mention at this date either of Alim Patcha, or of an envoy to Peking. On the contrary, a confidential Manchu officer named Ch'angling was sent as special commissioner with full powers to clean

out the whole Augæan stable on the spot, and the three envoys' names together sound like Mirza-Ismâel-Di-Mulla-Aikom. As early as 1825 mention is made of a Khokand public officer styled *khutaida*, whose duty was to look after the interests of Andidjan traders in China: probably this was tacitly allowed as part of the "cold recognition" of Khokand's doubtful services against Jehanghir. In 1831 it is incidentally mentioned that Mohammed Ali, Beg of Khokand, was only 26 years of age, and a mere puppet in the hands of his *mingbashi* Akh-Khul: the latter puzzled the Chinese Emperor by his indifference to the question of trade, and his rumoured intention to fortify "Talas on the River Chui." It was soon discovered, however, that Akh-Khul was really interested as a trader. In return for all this kindness, Khokand protested her lasting submission and gratitude: she took advantage of the calm to demonstrate against Russian advances on the River Naryn; and sent word to China not to get alarmed or believe cock-and-bull stories of her supposed ambition: she voluntarily sent back at the same time a number of Mussulman prisoners previously taken at Kashgar.

In 1833 mention is made of a Khokand *eltchin* (evidently meaning "envoy") named Mirza Ayib, who had applied to the Residents for permission to have consuls ("trader-heads"), and to tax the trade of other tribes: the Residents had persuaded Khokand to withdraw this claim, which they had done, but with so bad a grace that the Emperor said: "Look out for squalls": here, again, is evidence that Schuyler must be wrong about Alim's doings in 1831: indeed *A-i-p'u* (Ayib) might possibly be Alim. The Emperor was right; for in 1834, a Khokand band under the Hush Beg Leshker endeavoured by force to assert their master's right to collect taxes in the Serikol region: the *eltchin*, when questioned about this, feigned great indignation, and at once wrote to Khokand to obtain the withdrawal of the band. In the autumn the Emperor gave his consent to Khokand's sending an envoy named Ailien Pa-i to Peking;

but he sent the strictest instructions to Yarkand that not a single word must be spoken to him there either about the war or the *khodjas*. This man may very well be Schuyler's Alim Patcha, who, again, may possibly have been sent in 1831, but who manifestly did not arrive then, nor negotiate the agreement of that year. The Mohammed "Silipu" mentioned above (but not here called a *mingbashi*) was with the Hush Beg Leshker at Tagarma when Feroze Beg (the Chinese representative), and the *khutaida's* messenger, arrived on the scene: they found both Mohammed and Leshker very evasive.

Meanwhile the Emperor early in 1835 sends down word that the Khokand envoy at Peking has "presumed to claim the right to tax (? or be free of) the Badakhshan and Kashmir trade. Right, indeed, you were to refuse the *eltchin* who made the same proposition at Yarkand! Neither of those states belongs to Khokand, which first since Ch'angling's time has been allowed to establish a *khutaida* to govern the traders." Ch'angling, Viceroy of Kan Suh, went first to those regions in 1825, and we have seen that the *khutaida* already existed in 1825. I myself was in doubt whether the Chinese words meant "right to tax" or "right to be free of taxes" before I noticed Schuyler's statement. Hence it is clearer than ever that no agreement of any sort was made by a Khokand envoy at Peking in 1831, and that the 1831 agreement made at Yarkand bore in the Chinese and Khokand minds two very different constructions upon the all-important taxation question. In the early summer of 1836 the Emperor returns to the charge: "Khokand was granted a *khutaida* to keep the traders in order: nothing was said about allowing her to tax the Badakhshan and Kashmir trade. Send spies to report how the Khokand envoys behave on their return home." The spies on their return reported the death in Khokand of Yusuf Khodja, and that Mirza Ayib had told the Beg a pack of lies, which, however, had failed to deceive him.

Later in the same year, 1836, the Hush Beg Leshker



again attempted to enforce Khokand's claim to collect taxes in the Serikol region, and even established garrisons at Tashkurgan and Tagarma, but with the assistance of the *khutaida*, and of the Khokandese envoys locally detained as hostages, the difficulty seems to have been arranged by the Chinese partly by arms, partly by diplomacy.

Nothing more is said of Khokand until 1842. Schuyler states that in 1840 the Khan's warlike energies began to give way to licentiousness, probably because he had murdered his counsellor the *mingbashi* "Hakk" Kul. As we have seen, the Chinese mention this man in 1831, but nothing is said of his murder, or of the Khan's debaucheries. In 1842 Bukhara sent a communication to China explaining why it had become necessary to conquer part of Khokand. The Emperor declined to interfere, but directed that the reason of the attack should be carefully ascertained. In 1843 it was reported to him that Shir Ali had recovered the conquered territory from Bukhara. This bare statement is thus to be eked out: Schuyler states that the Amir of Bukhara reproached the Khan for his licentiousness: this led to war and anarchy, during which the Khan's cousin (they both had the same great-grandfather), Shir Ali, conspired against him. In 1842 Nasrullah of Bukhara invaded Khokand; the Hush Beg Leshker proved treacherous, and Madali, with most of his family, were killed. Bukhara appointed a Governor, but the Kiptchaks and Uzbeks (*i.e.*, the nomad part of the population) turned out the Bukhariot Governor and set up Shir Ali. The Amir marched to the rescue, but was so worked upon by the cunning diplomacy of the Kiptchak Mussulman Kul that he had to retire. Internal dissensions between the settled (Sarts) and nomad interests resulted in Mussulman Kul becoming *mingbashi*, and in Shir Ali losing his life. His second son, Khudayar, succeeded as a mere puppet of his ambitious *mingbashi*.

The next Chinese entry comes in 1846, and it serves in turn to confirm the above epitome of what Schuyler says:

"Mussulman Kul, *mingbashi* of Khokand, is reported to have sent an *eltchin* to Yarkand with a view to collect taxes on the Badakhshan, Kashmir, and Tibet trade at seven cities : also to collect rents from the Kiptchak tribe of the Kara-Khirgiz. You did well to refuse all this, and to send back spies with his envoy." Schuyler says that in the struggle between the settled and the nomad population the Sarts got the upper hand, and over 20,000 Kiptchaks, including Mussulman Kul, were murdered by the Sart party under Khudayar. In another place, however, Schuyler explains that some of the Kara-Kirghiz tribes have the same tribal names as the Uzbek tribes ; and it is certain that the Kiptchaks massacred were Uzbek-Kiptchaks (identified, he says, with the old Comanians and Polovtsi) : the point is not, however, very important, as the Kirghiz and Uzbeks in any case belong to the same Turki stock. Schuyler says nothing of the Chinese wars with the *khodja* pretenders about this time : on the other hand China seems to have known nothing of Schuyler's civil wars in Khokand. Mussulman Kul could not well have been killed before 1848, for in that year the Chinese say he sent an envoy to Kashgar to protest that the *khodja* war was not in the least his doing. In 1849 the Emperor is informed that "the Kara-Kirghiz have murdered the Khokand chief appointed to collect taxes beyond the Chinese outposts." The Emperor says : "Let them fight it out themselves."

In '1855' Khudayar, Beg of Khokand, begs China to release a prisoner called Yüsan Khodja Ishan—I suppose a son or relative of Yusuf, for the Chinese have always been anxious to eradicate what they call the "*khodja* superstition." In another place he seems to be called the Dowlet *khodja* Ishan. It is significant, as showing diminished knowledge of Khokand affairs, that a fresh syllabic spelling of the word Khokand is now introduced. The Emperor agreed to surrender the *khodja* if Khokand would give up in return two other *khodjas* deeply concerned in the last attack upon

Kashgar: one of these, named "Walikhan," was a nephew of Jehanghir. Nothing came of these negotiations, and Khokand invaded Kashgar in 1857 once more. After some desultory fighting, a Khokand envoy named Abdul Kerim appeared at Yarkand, but he was not allowed to go on to Peking: he was subsequently murdered by Chinese agents at Yarkand for his violent and grossly immoral conduct. In 1860 another *eltchin* (whose name reads like Nasr Uddin) arrived at Yarkand with proposals for peace: on being shown the evidence of his murdered predecessor's evil conduct, he admitted that the murder was his own fault: he also dealt with two of the offending *khutaidas* in a way satisfactory to China. Possibly this envoy was none other than the son of Khudayar who, under that name, succeeded according to Schuyler in 1875. But now Khokand ceases to be mentioned: the last entry is in 1861, when the Kirghiz Kazak chief Chotan goes over to Russia, for whom General Chernayeff took Khokand in 1864. However, the Russians seem to have left Khudayar and his subjects absolutely alone until his last Kirghiz war and his flight to Tashkend in 1875. In consequence of his son, Nasr Uddin, adopting a hostile attitude towards Russia, Khokand was then administratively annexed as the Russian province of Ferghana, the Persian name for the valley which the ancient Chinese call Ta-wan. But during the sixth century the Chinese begin to use the word Ferghana too (P'ohan, and P'ahanna). Andidjan, Djadj (Tashkend), Namangan, and several other Khokand towns were known by those names to the Chinese long before the valley fell under the Kalmuck power. It was only on the destruction of this last that the word Khokand appears in Chinese history, or, in fact, in any history.

All the above *data* have been taken from the *Tung-hwa Luh*, or "Transcripts of the Sublime East," *i.e.*, the "Manchu Annals." Wherever statements from Schuyler or other authors are utilized in order to fill in hiatuses, or to compare conflicting records, the name of the author

quoted is given, and the quotation closes with the sentence or period. Hence the information furnished is first-hand and original, except where the contrary is stated.

The alleged recent claim of Russia to Serikol cannot be justified through Khokand; for, as plainly appears above, Khokand's occupation was "adverse," immediately contested, and at once abandoned; but possibly the newspapers are mistaken in imputing such a claim to Russia.

“THE BREAK-UP OF CHINA”—LORD  
CHARLES BERESFORD.\*

BY ARCHIBALD LITTLE.

THE title of this work is misleading, but, on the other hand, well calculated to draw attention to the subject. The break-up of China, anticipated and helped on by those who have sinister designs upon the integrity of this venerable empire, is sincerely deprecated by all who, like ourselves, desire a “fair field and no favour” in this, one of the richest and most populous regions of the world’s surface. How to prevent this break-up is the true theme of Lord Charles Beresford’s painstaking and conscientious work, and to all statesmen and traders who are able to bring influence to bear to prevent the impending catastrophe, the careful study of this book is a prime necessity. The facts are there; Lord Charles adds his conclusions; it only remains for statesmen to form their conclusions and to act upon them. The thorough and orderly way in which these facts are marshalled bears striking witness to the energy and intelligence of the noble author; seldom or ever has so much been accomplished in so short a time; we have here not the results of a rapid survey by a globe-trotter but a collection of facts furnished to the author by the best-informed and most influential residents on the spot, who know where the shoe pinches, what are the obstacles to reform, and how best to overcome them. Lord Charles has visited all the principal ports and settlements inhabited by Englishmen in China, has listened patiently and sympathetically to the expression of their difficulties, and after consultation with them, suggests the remedy. And herein lies the great merit of his work; it is so distinctly opposed to the common official report, full of suppressions and obscuring the true issue, that Governments make use of

\* Harper Brothers, London and New York.

to satisfy Parliament and to save themselves from the labour of decision. Lord Charles does not shirk this labour, and whether or not his work leads to practical results in China, it will always merit the undying gratitude of his countrymen in the Far East, and we sincerely trust it will meet with equal recognition by the people of this country, as well by the "classes" who have the power to act as by the "masses" without whose assent no action is practicable. There is a vague feeling throughout the country that all is not as it should be with our Chinese policy, but China is so far away and the facts are so difficult to realize, that people are mostly content to leave our better-informed Government to deal with them; at the same time all are rightly anxious that steps should be taken to thwart the menace of the loss of our trade and of our just influence in China; the people of this country will enthusiastically follow a lead, if it only be given them. It is for our leaders to give this lead!

The problem is a complex one, but that is no reason for shirking it; yet it has been persistently shirked for the last thirty-seven years; from the day when we set up the effete Manchu dynasty, by lending it Gordon to help put down the great rebellion, and without demanding any conditions, to the day when we weakly evacuated Port Arthur and allowed Russia to quash the terms of a British railway contract. Russian interference with legitimate British interests is indeed the dominant theme of Lord Charles's book, and renders it melancholy reading for those who remember the time when we were able to do what we liked in China—and did nothing. The Nemesis of lost opportunity now pursues us; the easy road is no longer open. Dare we tackle the problem as it stands to-day, or is our Government afraid of it and content to let things drift? Upon the answer to this question depends the continuance of our trade with China and the security of our capitalists for their numerous investments already made throughout that vast region, and of others to come.

The official answer to this far-reaching question was given by the Prime Minister in the House of Lords last year: "If I am asked what our policy in China is, the answer is very simple. It is to maintain the Chinese Empire, to prevent it from falling into ruins, to invite it into paths of reform, and to give it every assistance which we are able to give it to perfect its defence or to increase its commercial prosperity. By so doing we shall be aiding its cause and our own." Meanwhile Russia blocks the way, and reasons of State apparently prevent any attempt to give effect to these fine words. Lord Charles would oppose the partition of China in the same way; in the picturesque and forcible language of the sailor, he writes: "I hold that to break up a dismasted craft, the timbers of which are stout and strong, is the policy of the wrecker for his own gain. The real seaman tows her into dock and refits her for another cruise." Seeing how these two important authorities are in full accord, the suggestion occurs to us that Lord Salisbury could not do better than send out to China to carry out his policy the gallant author of the work before us. At the same time, if we stand in fear of Russia and are afraid to grasp the nettle, we must expect to be stung. A straightforward man is the best diplomatist, in the East as in the West, and if our Government mean business in China, let them send out and give a fairly free hand to a man who, while eminently *persona grata* to the Chinese, may be trusted to "invite them into paths of reform" without fear of Russia or any other bogies. That all who carefully peruse Lord Charles's book will agree with us on this point we have little doubt, and all must peruse the book who have any interest in the Far East and desire to understand its problems.

## BRITAIN IN AFRICA—A FORECAST.

BY MALCOLM SETON.

A FACT which forces itself upon anyone who cares to study British colonial history is the intermittence of the interest taken by the population of the British Isles in colonial affairs. Just at present "we are all Imperialists," and the man in the street (whose halfpenny paper teaches him questionable "facts" about distant regions) is by way of being an expert upon difficult and delicate questions of policy which his father would have put by with a bland ignorance. Unhappily, scrappy information does not entail political wisdom, and "fussiness" on the part of the home public is almost as detrimental to the Empire as neglect, since the latter very often gave the men on the spot a free hand, though it withheld from them the instruments necessary to their work, and the recognition due to their efforts. It is, however, on the whole a healthy sign that the public has discovered the existence of an African Empire. Probably the personality of Mr. Rhodes has a good deal to do with our new mood: we demand a personal interest before we consent to give our attention, and, since the death of Livingstone, we have not, as a nation, been caught by the individuality of any worker in Africa until Mr. Rhodes became known to the readers of newspapers. For Gordon's life-work was unrecognised by the multitude which allowed, and then lamented, his death, while Sir Henry Stanley, through no fault of his own, worked mainly for the aggrandisement of aliens. Events like Isandhlwana and Majuba made the very name of Africa unpalatable. For, though the individual Englishman may never know when he is beaten, the English nation is very pleased to change the subject when some inconvenient person recalls its occasional misfortunes.

Africa, we now know, is a continent which it is worth while to develop. It calls for the attention of the missionary



and the man of commerce alike. The missionary finds in the two great races of the Negro and the Bantu the best field for his labours that the British Empire offers him. For, except where Muhammedanism has touched the tribes which have come under Arab or Fulah influence, the Africans have no dogma of their own. They are not, like the natives of America or Australia, dying out before the white invasion. If the Hottentots (an isolated and unique race) have been almost destroyed by drink and disease, the Kafirs and Zulus multiply under British rule. They are easily influenced for good or ill by a higher race, as the extraordinary changes wrought by Islam in the Western Soudan show. The great obstacle to the real civilization of the negro and negroid stocks, however, lies in the vitality of their animal nature. The point cannot be pressed here, but the reader may be referred to Sir Henry Johnstone's exhaustive monograph on British Central Africa.

The miner and the trader have been of late most conspicuous in Africa. The palm-oil and rubber of the West, the gold and diamonds of the South, have captured the European market; and in isolated parts the farmer of European blood can, in spite of drought, locusts, and stock diseases, succeed in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Of course, the potentialities of much of our territory are as yet unknown. Uganda, Nyassaland, and Rhodesia have been unsettled by wars, and cannot be developed for some time. The coal of Natal and Zululand, the copper of Namaqualand, perhaps the coal of Cape Colony, will be exploited. The culture of tea, coffee, tobacco, and sugar will be extended in Natal and in British Central Africa. Of Uganda it is premature to speak. In West Africa we shall probably remain traders, unless the progress of medical science secures Europeans against the various tropical diseases which now destroy them.

In any case, it may be taken that the region south of the Zambesi will be the only part of our African empire largely

habitable by white colonists, though in the Shire Highlands, and perhaps in parts of the Uganda Protectorate, we may found new Ceylons. Still, in the main, our dominion will be a black man's land. What shall we do with it?

The "Cape to Cairo" scheme has done service in showing us the continuity of British territory. The Soudan, Uganda, British East Africa, British Central Africa, and the southern system of states and colonies, constitute, except for a wedge where German and Congolese territory meet, an unbroken dominion. In the West we have allowed the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast (including Ashanti) to be cut off from the interior, but the region which includes Lagos and Benin, the "Niger Coast Protectorate," and "Nigeria," stretches inland to the centre of the Fulah States. We have renounced all possibility of connecting Nigeria with Uganda, just as France has renounced her scheme for extending her Western possessions to meet her Somali Protectorate. But we can still hope for an uninterrupted Eastern belt of territory, just as France can unite Algeria with the French Congo. The Germans, who, by their possession of the Cameroons, Damaraland, and the mainland of the Zanzibar Sultanate, had checked for a time our extension, appear to be prepared to act as a really friendly Power; and, whatever happens to the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast as regards their formal status, they will come under British influence for commercial and political purposes. Moçambique and Lourenço Marques form the sea-coast of Nyassaland, Mashonaland, and the Transvaal, and their Western boundary will be a very nominal barrier.

Certainly our administration of Africa must be simplified. The Indian Government, by relinquishing Somaliland, has removed one anomaly. Foreign Office administration has not been so successful that it is likely to be prolonged, especially since the conclusion of agreements with France and Germany has made Foreign Office intervention henceforth unnecessary. So long as our relations with the

dominions of European Powers were uncertain, the Foreign Office was, of necessity, compelled to act as overseer to our protectorates. But it may be assumed that the Colonial Office will soon be the only Downing Street department concerned in African affairs, except as regards Egypt, which is politically a part of Europe, but whose extension to "Equatorial" regions introduces many diplomatic difficulties.

But, after all, the fate of Africa is settled, not in Downing Street, but in Africa. It is very curious that no one seems to have noticed, as yet, that South Africa will certainly claim to inherit our African empire. Just as, when the Hudson Bay Company's territorial powers came to an end, the new Dominion of Canada was allowed to stretch across the continent to the Pacific, so the Dominion or Federation of South Africa will in time claim a controlling voice over the affairs of all Eastern Africa up to the head-waters of the Nile. South Africa (where perhaps history will be made before these words are published) has not yet made the most of her resources, but, in spite of that, South Africa is expanding restlessly. Nothing seems more remarkable to a visitor to Cape Colony than the fact that, while the mother-colony is under-populated, undeveloped, and cannot produce enough food for home consumption (owing to want of an irrigation system), the colonists are rushing Northwards. No work, except mining, is at present done thoroughly in South Africa. The restless, trekking spirit of the Boers, the feverish, speculative adventurousness of the English, combine to send the people forth into unknown regions, while the resources of nearer lands are neglected. South Africa is a land of hurry and wastefulness. The curse of money-speculation is upon it, and a sort of national jerry-building is the result. The discovery of diamonds, while it saved the Cape from financial bankruptcy, delivered it over to the pursuit of money: the country of quiet farmers was turned into an arena of stock-jobbers. No doubt South Africa will "pull through,"

because the right material is in the colonists, and a local patriotism is strong in the native-born, and the country has an infinitely better record, so far as the essentials of national life go, than either California or Victoria. But it is significant that the colonists have no time to teach their own Kafirs to labour (though the much-abused Glen Grey Act, and some of the Natal regulations, are steps in the right direction), and are already looking to Barotseland for the labour that their thousands of colonial Bantu will not give. This activity, or restlessness, will result in the extension of Afrikander influence into regions that we generally expect to remain under direct Imperial control. Once Rhodesia is well populated with Europeans, it will absorb Nyassaland. Rhodesia, in spite of the provincial patriotism that it is beginning to show, is part of the Southern system. A conflict between "Imperialism" and "Colonialism" must come, and questions of native administration and Indian immigration will supply the occasion. The Indian is being encouraged to some extent by the Imperial authorities in Uganda and Nyassaland, and discouraged, to say the least, by the local authorities in Natal, the Transvaal, and Rhodesia. Central Africa might supply an outlet for overcrowded India, but the Afrikanders will not welcome an Asiatic immigration into territories bordering on their own. As to the Kafirs, if the South African Federation (for some sort of union must come in South Africa) can succeed in managing Amakosa and Pondos, Zulus and Swazies, Bechuanas and Basutos (who cannot for ever retain the exceptional Imperial protection which they now enjoy), Matabele and Barotse, Angoni and Yao, they will be fit to control our black empire. For it must be remembered that the population is more or less Bantu right up to Victoria Nyanza. So far, colonial statesmen, in spite of honest endeavours which are too often depreciated, have not done much with the Kafir.

It is to be hoped that they will in time rescue him from the apathy tempered by brandy which is at present the

result of his loss of independence. Martial spirit is now suppressed, and the only prospect attractive to the average Kafir is the chance, by working for two or three years in his youth, of amassing enough wealth to buy wives and settle down to a life of indolence. The grant of even a restricted franchise to natives in Cape Colony is generally recognised to have been a mistake, though most people are afraid to say so. Our philanthropists, who are much exercised over the unwillingness of the Imperial authorities to ruin loyal Arabs in Zanzibar for the sake of a catchword, are too ignorant to realize that under the Bantu customs which we sanction in South Africa every native woman is a life-long slave to her father or her husband. The colonial Governments have been wise in dealing cautiously with polygamy, but the Kafirs cannot always remain in their present state. Luxury and enforced peace are destroying their martial qualities and their respect for their own chiefs. Christianity has made small progress. Drink is working havoc on the race. We have preserved them from mutual massacre, but, unless we can give them something more than the mere security of an ignoble existence, our African empire will not justify itself at the tribunal of history.

Still, we can only see the beginnings of things, and there is more reason, perhaps, for hope than for despair in Africa. But when we think of our kin in Africa, and say lightly, "They shall go from strength to strength," it is perhaps well that some of the future dangers should be pointed out to a sanguine generation.

# "WHEN IN DEATH I SHALL CALMLY RECLINE," in *Persian*.

BY A. ROGERS.

When in death I shall calmly recline,  
Oh, bear my heart to my mistress dear :  
Tell her it lived upon smiles and wine  
Of the brightest hue whilst it lingered here.

Bid her not shed one tear of sorrow  
To sully a heart so brilliant and bright,  
But balmy drops of the red grape borrow  
To bathe the relic from morn to night.

When the light of my song is o'er,  
Then bear my harp to your ancient hall,  
And hang it up on that friendly door  
Where weary travellers love to call.

Then if some bard who roams forsaken  
Shall stir its cords in passing along,  
Oh, let some thought of its master awaken  
Your warmest wish for the child of song !

Keep this cup which is now o'erflowing  
To grace your revel when I am at rest,  
Never, oh, never, its balm bestowing  
On lips that beauty has seldom pressed.

But if some warm devoted lover  
To her he adores shall fill to its brim,  
Oh, then my spirit around shall hover,  
And hallow each drop as it flows for him !

چو میرم آسوده و می خوارم پست  
بمعشوقم بر دل مرا بدست  
بخند و می رنگین بگو هان  
همه خوردنش بود تا بود در جهان

از چشم غمگین بگو مبارید آب  
تا این دل پر نور نشون حراب  
از انگور لعل چند بیارید صدام  
تا این تصف بشوید از صبح تا به شام

چون نور نوائم تمام - رسید  
چنگ من با یونان قدیمشان برید  
بر در دوستانه بالایش آویز  
که مسافر خسته می دارد عزیز

پس اگر مطربی بیکس بیاید  
و در گذر باز این چنگ بنویسد  
این مالک چنگ بیاید بیاد  
و آن نوا گوینده را مرجحاً باد

این جام کلاکون پر ز می است بخار  
پس از من در بزم بیارید بکار  
اما تری آن هرگز نرسیده  
بلب که شاهد هرگز نبوسیده

از عاشقی گرم مزاج بر خیزد  
و بیاد معشوق می لبالب ریزد  
گرداگردش روح بیاید پُران  
هر قطره بر او مقدس کنان

Chû miram âsûdeh va mi khâbam past  
Be m'âshuqam bar dil-i-marâ be dast.  
Be khandeh va mai-i-rangin begû hân  
Hamêh khûrdanash bûd tâ bûd dar jehân.  
Az chashm-i-ghamgin begû mabârid âb  
Tâ in dil-i-pûr nûr nashavad kharâb.  
Az angûr-i-'al chand biyârid madâm  
Tâ in tûbfah beshûyid az sûbh tâ beh shâm.

Chûn nûr-i-navâyam tamâm rasid  
Chang-i-man be aivân-i-qadimtân barid  
Bar dar-i-dûstâneh bâlâyash âviz  
Keh musâfir-i-khasteh midârad 'âziz.

Pas agar mûtrebi bikas biyâvad  
Va dar gûzar bâz in chang benavâvad  
În mâlik-i-chang biyâvad be yâd  
Va ân navâ gûyandahrâ marhabâ bâd.

În jâm keh aknûn pûr zi mai ast bedâr  
Pas az man dar bazm beyârid bekâr  
Ammâ tarti-i-ân hargiz narasidâh  
Belab keh shâhed hargiz nabûsidâh.

Ar 'âsheqi garm mizâj bar khizad  
Be yâd m'âshûk mai labâlab rîzad  
Girdâgirdâsh rûham biyâvad parrân  
Har qatra bar u mûqaddas kunân.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

SINCE our last Report, the fifteenth part of the "Dictionnaire de la Bible" has been published under the direction of Abbé Vigouroux.\* It begins with the word *esturgeon* and ends at *fontaine*. The most valuable articles are on the Ethiopian language, the Ethiopian version of the Bible, and the Apocryphal Gospels.

The celebrated Egyptologist Maspero has commenced the publication of the third volume of his "Histoire ancienne des Peuples d'Orient,"† the first numbers of which are now on sale. We shall wait till it is fully published before we review it.

We have to note several works on the science and history of religions, which are so closely related to Orientalism that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them.

The first is the German translation of the Introduction to the science of religion by Tiele‡ (Gifford Lectures). It is scarcely necessary to mention it to the British public, as Tiele's work has appeared in English, both in the form of lectures and in book form. The German translation, which only reproduces the first part of the original, treats of generalities on the science of religion, evolution of religion, naturalistic religions, ethical religions, laws of religious development, etc. The writings of the eminent professor of Leiden require neither recommendation nor praise. Their own merit will secure the attention of the learned public.

The second is an original and interesting inquiry on religions from the sociological point of view, by R. de la Grasserie.§ In this work the author treats religion from a social point of view. All beings in the universe, from this principle, are united by a superior bond of unity. The science of this principle is the science of religion, hence the author calls it a "*Cosmo-sociological science*." M. R. de la Grasserie's work is devoted to the investigation of all questions relating to religion looked at from this standpoint. A social cosmical bond (God with man, and man with God), worship, naturism, animism, constitution and evolution of religious opinions, relations between religions and civil society, are some of the important points that are touched upon in this work.

We have to make a single observation on the work of the old and esteemed missionary, Dr. Murray Mitchell, translated into French by

\* Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1899.

† Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1899.

‡ "Einleitung in die Religionswissenschaft." I. Theil. Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1899.

§ "Des Religions comparées au point de vue sociologique." Paris, Giard et Brière, 1899.

C. de Faye. It refers to all religions outside Christianity.\* He notices successively Animism, Hinduism, Zoroastrism, Buddhism, the religions of China, Japan, and Muhammadanism. The information given is, on the whole, exact and judicious; but—and this is what we find fault with—the field is so vast there are occasional gaps and imperfections. Some examples may be noted:

In the chapter on Hinduism we would expect to find a short account of the real tendencies of Brahminic origin, Sivaism, etc. The author has devoted the main part of this chapter only to Brahmo-Somaj. In referring to Buddhism, he makes allusion to its want of vitality. In this connection we would refer to the work of Colonel Olcott on the revival of Buddhism. We observe, finally, that the author is insufficiently informed as to the progress of Muhammadanism in Africa, India, and China. In India in 1885 the Musulmans numbered 50,000,000. In 1891 (the latest statistics) there were 57,321,000. We have often, both here and elsewhere, pointed out the great progress made by Islamism, and take again the opportunity of correcting inaccurate information presented by this work to the British public.

#### HISTORY OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.—THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In the field of the religious history of Israel, we notice two works. The first, that of E. Stave, which treats of the influence exercised by Parsism on Judaism,† a subject referred to in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* and elsewhere. The conclusions the Professor of Upsala arrives at coincide with my own. Under the influence of Mazdeism the ideas of legal purity and impurity acquired more importance in Israel. The Persian belief in a universal resurrection, annihilating death and re-establishing in its integrity the work of Ahura Mazda, the creator of life,‡ prepared the introduction into the Jewish religion of the belief in individual resurrection. The Mazdean eschatology presents such a close relationship to the Jewish eschatology that, necessarily, the former has influenced the latter.

The second work is by A. van Hoonacker on "The Levitical Priesthood in the Law and History of the Hebrews."§ This is divided into five parts: the Clergy in the Sacerdotal Code, the place of worship; the Priests and Levites (according to the Chronicles, the documents prior to the Exile, and Ezekiel); the Hereditary Character of the Priestly Functions; the High Priest; the Endowment of the Tribe of Levi. The argument of the Louvain Professor is based on a very conservative point of view. The distinctions which he makes between Biblical documents, according to the modern critic, should not delude us, any more than the scientific apparatus he uses in refuting in each page the arguments of Wellhausen, and of other representatives of the science of the Old Testa-

\* "Coup d'œil sur les religions en dehors du Christianisme." Geneva, Ch. Eggimann, 1899.

† "Ueber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum." Haarlem, 1898.

‡ This is what we expressed almost in the same terms (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. 1884. I., p. 322).

§ Louvain, Istas, 1899.



ment. These are, indeed, the main results which he arrives at, all the Biblical documents affirming the unique place of worship, the distinction between priests and Levites, and the unique office of the High Priest. It is, as one may perceive, the traditional interpretation established by a method which possesses only the appearance of being scientific.

In the Old Testament and Jewish Apocryphal literature we draw attention to the sixth volume recently published, "Skizzen und Vorarbeiten," by Wellhausen,\* a series of notes and remarks upon the Psalms, on Islam, the expression  $\delta \nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , Apocalyptic literature, and several categories of irregular verbs in Hebrew.

The Book of Jubilee has been made the subject of a remarkable inquiry by W. Singer,† in which he advocates an erroneous thesis of the origin and anti-Paulinian tendency of this Apocalypse.

The important publication of the German translation of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigraphy of the Old Testament, by Kautzsch,‡ will be of great service. The preface to each volume, its translation, and the copious notes elucidating the text with which each is accompanied, reminds one of that marvellous work, "The Translation of the Old Testament," by the same scholar, and which cannot be praised too highly.§

The Apocrypha which have, up to the present, appeared (the work is in course of publication) are: III. Esdras, I., II., and III. Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, the Prayer of Manasseh, additions to Daniel, additions to Esther, Baruch, Epistle to Jeremiah, and Ecclesiasticus.

R. Basset continues the very interesting publication of his Ethiopian Apocryphas, the last one published (IX.) being the Apocalypse of Esdras.|| In the extremely good preface which precedes the translation of this volume, the learned Orientalist asserts that this Apocalypse was written about the year 97, at the accession of Nerva, and shows the influence which it exercised down to the Kuran, and even to Christopher Columbus.

#### TALMUDISM AND RABBINISM.

The translation of  $\text{שלחן ערוך}$ , by J. de Pavly and M. A. Neviasky, continues; Part IV. (clean and unclean animals, mixing meat and milk) has recently appeared.¶ F. Weichmann has published an interesting and well-conceived pamphlet on the ritual slaughtering of animals among the Jews, which commences with a preface by Professor Strack.\*\*

The authoritative edition and the German translation of the Talmud of Babylon, by Lazarus Goldschmidt,†† which we have already announced, are being continued, and make progress. In a few years hence, this pub-

\* Berlin, G. Reimer, 1899.

† "Das Buch der Jubiläen: I. Tendenz und Ursprung." Stuhlweissenburg (Ungarn), E. Singer, 1898.

‡ "Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T." Freiburg i. B., Mohr, 1898-99.

§ "Die heilige Schrift des A. T." 2te Ausg. Freiburg i. B., Mohr, 1896.

|| Paris, 1899.

¶ Orléans, Michau, 1899.

\*\* "Das Schächten." Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899.

†† "Der Babylonische Talmud, תלמוד בבלי." Berlin, Calvary, 1897-99.

lication will be a valuable help to those who interest themselves in Talmudic studies. The edition is excellent, so far as one can judge from a superficial examination; such a work deserves long and minute study. The following have appeared up to the present: Vol. I. (Berakhoth, Zeraim, Schabbath), Vol. III. (Sukkah, Beca, Rosch-haschanah, Tânith, Megilla, Moed Katan).

The publication is announced to appear soon of an edition of the Talmud of Babylon. It will be a complete text, accompanied by Rashi's commentary, and a French synthetic translation, by J. de Pavly, whose works on Rabbinical literature we have on several occasions mentioned.

In conclusion, we have to announce an important work on the Targum of the Samaritan Pentateuch, by P. Kahle.\*

#### SYRIAC, MANDÆAN.

A new Syriac grammar has appeared, by C. Brockelmann,† the author of that excellent work, the "Lexicon Syriacum," which we have already recommended to our readers in former Reports.

This grammar recommends itself by its clearness and preciseness. Having myself published short grammars of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, I know by experience how difficult it is to be clear when the theory of a language is reduced to a minimum. It also recommends itself by the choice and wealth of its chrestomathy, printed in three types—Jacobite, Estrangelo, Nestorian. The advantages of this new grammar appear to me sufficiently great to consider its introduction in University teaching a real progress. I for my part intend to make use of it for my own tuition.

Mandæan studies are enriched by a publication, worthy of all praise, on "The Mandæan Inscriptions of Cups from Khouabir" (text, translation, and commentary), by Pognon.‡ Khouabir, on the right bank of the Euphrates, is situated about fifty-five kilometres to the north-west of Musejjib. The cups, covered with magical inscriptions, seem to date from the first century of the Hegira.

#### ISLAM.

Under the title of "Bulletin Bibliographique de l'Islam Maghribin,"§ Mr. E. Doutté, Professor at the College of Tlemcen (Algeria), has originated the publication of a very useful Islamic bibliography. The title of the work does not give a very exact idea of its contents, the scope of which extends very much beyond the region of the Maghrib. The author, in our opinion, would have done better by simply calling it "Bibliography of Islam." In it he reviews the general works upon Islam, books of dogmatics, history, science, Musulman laws, books, pamphlets, and articles on the Islamic propaganda, Arab morals, the folk-lore of Northern Africa, travels in Muhammadan countries, Arabic works written by Musulmans, the study of the Arabic and Berber languages and literatures, etc.

\* "Textkritische und lexikalische Bemerkungen zum Samaritanischen Pentateuch-targum." Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1898.

† "Syrische Grammatik." Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1899.

‡ Paris, Welter, 1898.

§ Oran, Fouque, 1899.

What constitutes the great merit of Doutté's work is that he judiciously gives us an idea of the value of the greater part of the books which he mentions. It is this double character which makes his bulletin so valuable to all those who interest themselves in the numerous and varied questions relating to Islamism. We note in connection with this that French Algeria is becoming more and more an important centre for Arabic and Islamic research.

Amongst the statistical publications quoted by E. Doutté is a census of the Muslims of the world, taken from the *Revue de l'Islam* (1897, p. 113),\* showing that there are more than 282,000,000 followers of Muhammad. In a recent article in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* (1899, January 15),† the total number of Muslims is given as 260,000,000. Unfortunately, neither of the articles indicates the source from which these statistics were procured. In the course of the researches that I have made on this subject, according to official English, French, and other documents and diplomatic information, in 1885 (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*) and in 1890 ("La Propagande Chrétienne et ses Adversaires Musulmans")‡ we believed that there were 150,000,000 to 175,000,000 of Muslims, and that, in any case, their number did not reach 200,000,000. It would be satisfactory to have precise information on this point.

In Wellhausen's§ book, which we have referred to, there is a long and important essay entitled "Prolegomena to the most Antique History of Islam." The eminent Orientalist enters therein on several points in the history of the early days of the Hegira, according to Tabari, and the chief authority of this writer for the era of the four first khalifas, namely, Saif ben Umar.

We may also announce the following three small tracts by V. Chauvin, all of them instructive, especially the last: "Abou Nioute et Abou Nioutine,"|| "Tawaddonde, ou la Docte esclave,"¶ "Homère et les mille et une Nuits."\*\* In regard to the last theme, Chauvin concludes by saying that if it is certain that Homer was known in the Arabian East (see the episode of Sinbad the Sailor during his third voyage), then nothing prevents the presumption that he has been translated into Arabic.

We have reserved for our final notice the most important work, "Le Maroc Inconnu,"†† by A. Moulières, Professor of the Public Chair of Arabic at Oran.

When this bulky work (consisting of more than a thousand pages in octavo) reached me, I was particularly well prepared to peruse it, as indeed I was about to peruse, on the one hand, the description of the Maghrib country (ذكر بلاد المغرب) of Abulfeda, and on the other, the very

\* Paris.

† Berlin.

‡ In *Le Protestant*, Paris, 1890.

§ "Skizzen und Vorarbeiten."

|| Liège, 1898 (*Wallonia*).

¶ Liège, 1899 (*Le Mouvement*).

\*\* Louvain, 1899 (*Musée Belge*).

†† Oran and Paris, A. Chammel, 1895 (Vol. I.), and 1899 (Vol. II.).

interesting book of P. de la Martinière on "Morocco: Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan."\*

A. Moulières is an enthusiast of the Arabic world; his book, written *con amore*, proves it on every page. The thought of blaming him for it is far from me, because the Arabic world and its language has for me, as for him, a perfect fascination. For a long time the author had contemplated a tour of exploration in mysterious Morocco, which his profound knowledge of Arabic and Berber would have fitted him above all others to undertake. Circumstances, however, preventing him from realizing his project, he profited by his exceptional situation at Oran to interrogate native travellers passing through Oran from Morocco. Amongst these travellers, there was one whose confidence he gained, and from whom he obtained a fund of valuable information. This traveller was an Algerian Musulman named Muhammad ben Tayyeb, who for twenty-two years—from 1872 to 1893—had travelled over the north of Morocco, and who is travelling there still. To be able to go anywhere, Muhammad feigned insanity, and knew just when he should pass as such and such of a Moroccan tribe, or a Jew, etc.

Moulières's work is comprised in two parts, accompanied by unpublished maps, viz., (1) exploration of the Rif; (2) exploration of Jebala (Northern Morocco). There are really, in this work, two distinct parts, although constantly mixed up in the editing: (1) the account of the journey of Muhammad, which by reason of the extraordinary adventures he relates, is a real romance; and (2) the scientific part, which deals with every possible subject relating to Morocco. The order followed is that of the tribes of Rif and Jebala. In respect to each tribe, we obtain an abundance of information of every kind—geography, history, commerce, industry, agriculture, mines, morals, religion, politics, population, administration, etc. The result is that the work altogether possesses the character of an encyclopedia. "Le Maroc Inconnu" of Moulières is the encyclopedia of Northern Morocco. What appears to us most remarkable in this book, which has entailed on its author an immense labour, is the geographical part (the author estimates the total population of Morocco at 24,000,000 or 25,000,000 of inhabitants). Moulières was right in entitling his work "Le Maroc Inconnu," because one may search elsewhere in vain for the mass of information therein contained. We congratulate the author, whose book will be indispensable to those who interest themselves in Morocco and Moroccan questions. He has justified by his work the Arabic proverb which he has placed at the beginning of his book:

الارض طاوس الغرب كعولته

"The earth is a peacock, Morocco is its tail."

\* London, Whittaker, 1889.

TWENTY-FOURTH REVIEW ON THE  
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

VOL. XXXI.—THE GATHAS OF ZOROASTER IN METRE AND  
 RHYTHM, WITH AN ENGLISH LITERAL RENDERING.

HYMN OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D., OXFORD.

ANTICIPATED struggles and prayers for champions and defenders.

1. The chapter divides itself quite naturally; 1-4 belong together; then 5 and 6; 7 seems closely connected; then follow 8-12. A struggle is evidently at hand, whether the same as that to which allusion is more than once made, by incitation as in Y. 31, 18, with anxious expectation as in Y. 44, 15, 16, or as if in a sense of victory as in Y. 45, 1, or of defeat as in Y. 49, 1, is difficult or rather, impossible to determine. But with the strophes or, as we are more accustomed to hear, with the verses 10, 11, 12 in view, together with the dispirited Y. 49, 1, we shall say at once that if this verse was intended to be connected with them, an armed struggle had been expected, whether the decisive one, or not, we need not say.

The saint, that is to say, the pious adherent to the holy constitution of the religious State, whatever may have been the result of the immediate preliminary struggles, is encouraged by a view of the end.

2. But the burdened worshipper craves still further reassurance before the "storms of battle" come once more upon him.

3. For little as the assurances of Ahura are valued by the heretic, to the man who understands the true relations, what Ahura declares by means of His inspired prophets, the announcers of the mysterious doctrines, this is of all things best; he needs not "ask" as elsewhere (see Y. 31, 17).

4. And whoever would hope for spiritual growth and purity must turn his mind to that word of the Deity, and pursue its teachings faithfully; and so at last his fears will vanish, for his doubts will disappear.

5. This verse seems to be a prayer to Âramaiti; "when the long struggles shall have found their issues; and the one party or the other wins the day, let not that party be the evil alliance with its monarch. For if the government is set up and carried on with all the prescribed ceremonial and moral exactness of the wise Chisti; if men who toil for the sacred kine and with the virtue of those who cultivate her, hold the reins of power and can so repress the predatory raids on defenceless, as well as on unoffending victims, then no gift of Ahura, since the tribes became a nation, could be looked upon as a greater, or as so great a blessing, as the correct Authority and the holy Order of the Law."

7. Urging the armed overthrow of the spirit of Rapine in accordance

with the Kine's complaint (Y. 29, 1), he exhorts the armed masses to energetic and offensive valour.

8. He then vehemently, although not rhetorically, asks how he may use the proper prayers to rally the needed coadjutors among the chiefs (Y. 46, 9) to carry on the struggle.

9. Again he utters a cry for relief in his suspense, and of entreaty for light as to the rewards which did not concern this life for its own sake (verse 1) merely or chiefly, but which were spiritual blessings received here in preparation for the spiritual world.

10. "When," he asks as one among similar questions four times repeated, "when shall the ideal men appear whose thoughtful plans (Y. 46, 3) shall drive hence the polluted schemes of the false priests and the tyrants" (Y. 46, 1) ?; (11) and "when shall Âramaiti, the kindly piety of home, appear? she who, like the earth, spreads pastures for the peaceful Kine; when shall she appear with holy Khshathra? (later well called an angel or Archangel), the personified Authority of God over home and state, without which an anarchy as bad as that of the evil authority (verse 5) might continue or recur"; and "who was the champion-chief who would give them peace through blood" (Y. 46, 4; 53, 9).

11. In a word "to whom as to the coadjutors of such a leader, would the light of reason, and the true faith come to inspire and to guide them?"

12. There was but one only class of human warriors whom he would thus match against that Demon of furious Rapine (verse 6) toward whom the evil on their part, at their first creation rushed as to their leader (Y. 30, 6); and these were the saviour Saoshyants, the viceregents of the Immortals upon earth, the religious princes Vishtâspa, Jâmâspa, Frashaoshtra, and with them, as the greatest among them all, he who was, with much probability the speaker, or composer of the passage, that is to say, the *Ratu* appointed by Ahura for the Kine (Y. 29, 8) and for men, Zarathushtra Spitâma, elsewhere and later called with hyperbole the "first tiller, warrior, and priest."

# YASNA XLVIII.

## *hopes of victory*

If he\* with Asha's deeds  
shall slay | the Lie-Druj,  
When that once called deceit  
our lot | † shall really be,  
In deathless life for saints,  
cursèd for faithless;  
With blessings this  
shall swell,  
praise, Lord, to Thee.

\* The commander of the Zarathushtrian forces.

† So stands the text; and my emendation is solely in response to doubts as to the genuineness of such a too significant idea.

*"Sacred Books of the East."**suspense*

Tell me, then, Lord,  
     what Thou | so well perceivest  
 Ere my war's crises  
     shall | fully come on ;  
 Shall the Law's ranks  
     in truth | smite down the sinners,  
 For so life's crowning  
     deed  
     for us is won !

*the stake*

Yes, to the enlightened one  
     is that | best of doctrines  
 Which the beneficent  
     through Asha's law hath taught ;  
 Holy he knoweth the  
     hid truth's | full revealers,  
 Mazda, Thy servant  
     through  
 Good Mind's keen thought.

*the future goal*

He who will bend his mind  
     on both | the good and evil,  
 With Asha's truth  
     his lot, fulfilling vows will cast,  
 His soul will join  
     for aye | believers in friendship ;  
 And in Thy knowledge  
     stand  
     complete at last !

*incitations*

Yes, may, our rulers win ! . . .  
     yon tyrants, never ! . . .  
 With well-planned  
     tactic | deeds, O holy zeal,  
 Saving their offspring\*  
     to saints, O thou best one ;  
 For herds be work  
     well done,  
     and send them weal !

\* Or "hallowing to [believing] man the best things for generation," i.e., "for the increase of all living values"; according to tradition the best things "after birth."

For they will give us,  
 Lord, safe homes and power,  
 Long lasting strength,  
 good men\*, freedom from strife;  
 For Kine He grew  
 with skill, faultless the pastures  
 Mazda in birth  
 of all  
 primeval life !

*war*

Down then be Raider cast ;  
 against Fury† smite ye !  
 Ye who at good men's\*  
 side, holding would share  
 That help‡ whose  
 holy bond | bindeth the righteous ;  
 For him within Thine  
 house  
 that help I'll bear !

*the means*

Which is indeed the prayer  
 to bring on, Thy good ruler,  
 Which can Thy blessings  
 goal for us attain ?  
 How shall I seek  
 the men marked-out as helpers,  
 While I | Thy people's  
 cause  
 further to gain ?

*suspense (once more).*

Aye, shall I know  
 if aught | for me Ye govern  
 By Thy just law  
 o'er what | most doth appal ?§  
 Aright for joy to me  
 show | good men's|| favour ;  
 Let Thy true prophet  
 find  
 how blessings fall !

\* Lit. "good mind."

† Aeshma the wrath-demon of the raid.

‡ Or "shelter," or some similar element favouring the holy people.

§ Over some vital interest, or threatening calamity ; as to what it may have been, see the verbatim and the commentary.

|| So, for safety ; lit., "the good mind's" . . .



*who shall help*

Yes, when shall come  
 the men | best skilled for action ?  
 When drive they hence  
 This soil | of frenzied seer ?  
 With whose foul rites  
 the Karp | murd'rous would rob us,  
 And by whose  
 oracle  
 tyrants are here ?

Aye, when shall come  
 keen zeal | with legal Order,  
 Giving through government  
 rich pastures, blest homes ? ;  
 Who rest from  
 blood-stained | infidel wins us ? ;  
 To whom shall  
 civic skill  
 from good men come ?

*the men*

Yea, such shall be,  
 O Lord, this land's prince-saviours,  
 Who in Thy people's  
 Faith | shall firm abide,  
 With Asha's rites  
 fulfilled, guarding each statute,  
 Set against murder's  
 raid  
 stemming its tide !

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## THE LANDLORD AND POLITICAL TENURES OF GUJARAT AND WESTERN INDIA.—IV.

BY B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E., F.R.S.E., M.R.A.S.

### LANDLORD TENURES IN BRITISH DISTRICTS.

It now only remains to consider the tenures of the BRITISH DISTRICTS, which for the most part were the original "Khālsa" territory of the former rulers. In the first place, it is important to remember that in former days these districts were covered by a complete network of Rājput chiefships. Lands were possessed in exactly the same way, and exactly on the same grounds of conquest, grant, or hereditary right, as the "political" districts above noticed. But the Government of the time annexed the territory, and destroyed the independence of the overlords. Often it ejected them altogether, and brought the villages into direct relation with the State. In some cases it left the original chiefs with a fragment of their possessions as free-holders, or gave them the position of "tālukdār," which meant one thing in the Moslem Governor's mind, and quite another in that of the hereditary Rājput *bhumiya* or *grāsiya*. We have to note the condition and legal tenure of the different estates as they now appear, and notice how the principles of the Bombay Revenue Administration operated in modifying the title on which they are held.

The "landlord" tenures (which pay revenue) in the British districts of Gujarāt, and are distinguished in the statistical tables, are the Tālukdāri, Mēwāsi, and Udhaḍjamabandī. These apparently are recorded separately solely because the Government revenue is assessed differently in each. Two other kinds of landlord tenure, however, exist, called "Mālikī" and "Kasbāti," which are not separately shown. The reason why I begin with this string of unfamiliar names will soon be apparent. From a purely "tenure" point of view, some of these estates were in origin, and all are in effect, of exactly the same kind. The first two are simply the relics of those Rājput or Koli chiefs' estates, the growth and misfortunes of which have been described. The third is not a special *tenure* of any kind: *any* proprietary estate may come under this designation, by the fact of its having a fixed assessment—generally at a somewhat favourable rate, and not assessed on the usual plan of soil valuation, but in a lump sum on the basis of the former customary amount. The "Kasbāti" was a Moslem grant originally of a revenue-lease, which (as usual) became proprietary; Mālikī, again, is the name of a regular proprietary grant (Moslem), which, however, underwent a certain dissolution only in recent times. The distinction really was perpetuated on grounds which are interesting, since they result from the Bombay theory of revenue administration as distinct from that of Bengal.

In July, 1894, I published in this *Review* a paper showing that the early Hindu law, as well as the genuine Muhammadan jurisprudence, knew

nothing of the claim of the King or Emperor to be owner of all land—occupied as well as waste—in his dominions. But both contained the germs of a theory of right by conquest which easily led to such a claim being developed; and by the time British rule began in Bengal or (some 50 years later) in Bombay, the Rājās, Thākurs, Nawābs, and others, who had become independent, had, one and all, asserted and acted on the principle that by conquest (or otherwise) they *were* the soil-owners.

When Lord Cornwallis came out to settle the revenue-administration of Bengal, this principle appeared to him highly objectionable. He wished that the "estates" should everywhere, if possible, be held by private landlords—subject only to the revenue-payment and to a state-lien on the land as security for its recovery. Accordingly the Governor-General issued, throughout Bengal, grants of title to those persons who were considered best qualified to be called owners. The Government was then no longer the general landlord; it retained only such lands as were waste and unoccupied, or such lands as had no other owners, or for which no one would undertake the responsibility to pay the revenue. In all other cases the theory of "Government lands" or Government being owner, was at an end. The same principle (in a somewhat different form) naturally prevailed in later years when the N.W. Provinces were acquired. A certain number of great landlords were found and acknowledged: but in the majority of cases the lands were owned by groups of co-sharers or joint owners, forming village communities. And here the formal ownership of the village was recognised as residing in the jointly responsible body which engaged (through its representative headmen) to pay the revenue. But the theory of Government ownership was equally at an end. It resulted also from this desire (in Bengal) to transfer the soil-ownership to considerable landlords, or to joint bodies, that the idea of the necessity (for administrative purposes) of a *middleman* between the host of actual possessors and cultivators and the State, grew so strong under the Bengal system in early times. If there was no proprietor, then a revenue-engagement must be taken from a middleman or "farmer" of some kind, whose position was not further defined than by calling him the "holder of the settlement."\*

In BOMBAY the Government never adopted this Bengal policy, nor did it repudiate the position of owner-in-chief of the entire soil which it derived by succession to the Moslem and Mahrātha Governments. On the contrary, it was inclined rather to insist on the title, because (if for no other reason) it gave a *locus standi* from which to secure the hereditary and transferable "occupancy" tenure of the cultivating *raiya*s, while leaving them the option of relinquishing land if they could not make it pay. In consequence a special method of survey, valuation, and land-administration was devised.

By the time the long period of the retention of experimental (and old native) methods of revenue management came to an end, MUNRO, in Madras, had finally effected the triumph of the "raiya-wāri" system; and the adoption of similar principles in Bombay was secured. Under such a

\* The necessity of the middleman (especially where, as in Bengal, there was no Cadastral Survey) arose from the belief that it was impossible to manage and deal with the mass of peasant holders of lands direct.

system (putting aside exceptional cases of local Zamindārs and Chiefs), the Government officers allow no "middleman," but deal with each *raiyat* direct. The holdings are surveyed in unalterable blocks or compartments, each is assessed on its own merits, and each holder has to pay his own separate revenue. The occupier, though he may relinquish his privilege, is permanent "occupant" as long as he makes no default; but Government remains the owner. The only general exception is where the land has been recognised as "inām"—that is, is held on one of the many forms of exemption from revenue-payment, for service, charitable, or religious purposes, etc. The holders of "inām" always own the land;\* so that if a State-rent or revenue is not leviable (or if only some fixed annual fee is taken, which does not materially alter the case), Government has no further interest, as landlord, in the holding—the land is "alienated." In all other cases, the ordinary villages of *raiyats*, under their Pātel or headman, are "Government villages." When, therefore, in Gujarāt there were certain estates or overlord interests which were not "alienated" lands, and yet could not be treated exactly like "Government villages," or groups of such, *every difference* as to the mode in which the particular estate was dealt with—whether it was subjected to survey and assessment or not; whether the assessment was in the lump, or regularly made from field to field; whether the Government could interfere to manage the estate so as to free it from debt; whether it introduced village-accountants or not—gave ground for reckoning a different form of tenure to be shown in the revenue-records. But they were still regarded as—in some sense—"Government lands," because they paid revenue to the Treasury. Had these estates been in the N.W. Provinces, they would have at once been demarcated *en bloc*, and only such interior survey of villages made as was necessary; the revenue would have been assessed uniformly in one sum for the whole, on the basis of a certain proportion of the calculated total rental profits: the chief would have signed an engagement as "landlord," and would have been so recorded. If there were sub-shares, the co-sharers would have been protected by record, as to the extent and locale of each share, and the proportion of the revenue-total each was liable for.†

In Bombay the earlier idea that the Tālukdārs were *temporary lease-holders* of Government lands had a great influence. It was partly due to the designation given by the Moslem rulers, expressive of the fact that the

\* It would take me away from the object of this paper to explain why this is so: for in Bengal and the N.W. Provinces it by no means always happened that the enjoyer of the revenue-privilege was also owner of the land, though he became so, by gradual growth, in certain instances.

† When (as usually in Gujarāt) the original estate had been actually partitioned into a number of shares consisting each of a single village, and even each village had its own body of sub-sharers, it would have been (in the N.W. Provinces) a question of fact whether any principal chief retained a general title over the whole estate; if he had, he would have been landlord, and a "sub-settlement" would have been made with the villages, showing what each was to pay to the State and to the Tālukdār. If such overlord right appeared rather shadowy, the Tālukdār might have received a certain cash allowance—so much per cent. of the Revenue—but the villages would have been treated as so many independent joint-bodies, in direct relation, as joint-proprietors and revenue-payers, with the State.

estates were in a state of dependence (ta'alluq). But there was another reason. There is a certain ambiguity which has always attached to the use of the term "lease" in India: it may signify a legal document by which a "tenant" is empowered to hold land; but it is also commonly used to signify an engagement to pay the land-revenue for a certain tract of land, which is entered into by the person who "holds the settlement," as the phrase is. Wherever that person is a contractor only, then the tenure is analogous (at any rate) to a leasehold under Government: but where (as in most cases) the person who engages for the revenue is the (*de facto*) owner of the land, "lease" simply means the revenue-engagement for the period of settlement; it has no effect on, or reference to, the landholder's right or interest in the soil.

It happened that, in Gujarāt, the different classes of Tālukdār, Mewāsi, and Kasbāti, etc., were under various circumstances differently treated.\* When the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone became Governor, he had some familiarity with the Bengal provinces: and under his orders in 1821-24 the distinctions alluded to were abolished; the compulsorily introduced village accountants were withdrawn, and the fact that the Tālukdārs, Mewāsi Chiefs, etc., were *proprietors* was recognised. But it was still the custom to make the Tālukdārs sign "leases" (*i.e.*, revenue-engagements) for the payments they had to make. And these, moreover, were assessed at two-thirds of the "assets" or landlord-share of the produce.† For some 30 years the payments underwent no change: but when in 1853 the system of "survey-settlement" became established and put in practice, the old feeling that such lands, not being "inām" or "alienated," *must* be "Government" lands liable to detailed survey and assessment, revived. I should explain that the leases spoken of—though for some years they did not increase the demand—were only issued for a term of years; and it became the custom to take the opportunity of renewals, to add clauses requiring this or that duty from the holder: and at last these documents were found to contain so many conditions and restrictions, that, as they

\* For example, the Chūnwāl estates had been placed under some special control in consequence of the Chief's misconduct in 1819. The Kasbātis of Dholka have been variously dealt with; sometimes village accountants were imposed, sometimes not. The Mewāsi Chiefs again were not included in the orders taking 70 per cent. revenue presently spoken of, nor were they surveyed; their revenue was fixed in a lump sum on estimate of former payments, and so on. Each kind of "tenure" was regarded as different, when the revenue-management was different.

† It was originally the case in Bengal that 70 per cent. was deemed a proper proportion to be paid to the State in connection with the older theory of the "Zamindār" as farmer of the revenue. But in the N.W. Provinces and elsewhere, when the real proprietary character of the settlement-holders was recognised, the proportion was reduced to 50 per cent.; and even then the "assets" (or rental income) were so calculated that the revenue charge did not really amount to anything like one-half of the landlord's actual receipts or profits. Only when the settlement was offered to a mere middleman contractor, it was still thought that to take 70 per cent. of the rents, and leave him 30 per cent. for his profit, was equitable. Such a rule was quite inapplicable to persons whose real proprietary connection with the land had been established for generations: and the Tālukdārs were certainly unjustly treated in being asked to pay so much—it was distinctly in derogation of their prescriptive ownership.

stood, they gave colour to, if they did not justify, the conclusion that the signatory landholders were mere "lessees." The character of the document had, in fact, changed from a mere revenue-engagement to one affecting the title. Of course the Tālukdārs did not understand what they were signing: strong in their justifiable belief in their long possession and their hereditary title as *de facto* owners (though their independent ruling position had long passed away), they signed what was put before them as a form required by the Administration. The time soon came when what with the pressure of the now regular revenue-demand, the partition of their lands to afford subsistence to widows, cadets, and relations, and their own improvidence also, the "estates" became hopelessly encumbered. The Civil Courts were then moved by the creditors to give decrees against them; and having regard to the historical and hereditary position of the holders, *they* had no hesitation in treating the lands as the property of the debtors, and ordering them to be sold in execution. But if, on the revenue officer's theory, the Tālukdārs were only "lessees," the land was not theirs, and could not be sold.\* In this dilemma the Government law-officers were consulted, and they very naturally as English lawyers, knowing nothing of the real origin, growth, and history of the tenures, or perhaps preferring the English-law view of the matter, that a "lessee" could not dispute his landlord's title, arrived at the conclusion—on the terms of the leases themselves—that the lands were "Government" lands on a leasehold tenure.† In 1862, Bombay Act VI. was passed with a view to adjust matters: it applied only to the Grasiyā Chiefs or Tālukdārs of Ahmadābād. The preamble to this Act is curious; it was probably intended to cut the Gordian knot. We can read between the lines the feeling that, though in the abstract, the conclusion as to the Tālukdārs being only lessees of State property might be (as indeed it was) historically untenable, and also under the circumstances (*e.g.*, Mr. Elphinstone's orders of 1821) wholly inequitable, the fact remained that the holders had long continued to put their names or seals, without objection, to "leases" containing certain terms: and the hardship of the case would disappear if the existence of the leases were made use of only to prevent the sale of the lands, and (on certain terms) to enable Government to declare, for the future, the full-ownership of the holders. This, in effect, is what was done. The Act sets forth that "the tālukdārī estates are *now*‡

\* "Whole villages, and fields, were put up to auction," says the author of the *Ahmadābād Gazetteer*, "and knocked down for a trifle to the creditors or their agents. . . . If the Tālukdārs were only leaseholders, the creditor's security was almost worthless. . . . If, on the other hand, the Tālukdārs were proprietors, their estates would be sold at nominal prices, and attempts of the buyers to take possession would probably end in a breach of the peace."

† It is interesting to observe that exactly the same conclusion might have been formulated in Bengal—at least, in regard to all that class of Zamindārs who had held under the terms of the usual official *sanad*, which most certainly did not countenance the idea that the manager was the owner of the land. But the Governor-General, determined on the policy of recognising private property, ignored the *sanads*, and had regard to the *de facto*, hereditary, and (at the time) long continued possession and virtual proprietary enjoyment, and declared the Zamindārs full proprietors. In Bombay the influence of the principle that the State ought to be owner worked the other way.

‡ The italics, of course, are mine.

held only on leasehold tenure, terminable at the pleasure of Government," that therefore the lands "could not and cannot be lawfully charged, encumbered, or alienated." It allows the estates to be taken under official management (for the purpose of freeing them from debt) for a period of not more than 20 years. At the end of the term the estate is released, and "the tālukdār shall be the absolute proprietor of his said landed-estate as regards succession to, and possession, management, and transfer of the same." At first the Tālukdār was protected from the consequences of this unrestricted property by getting him to enter into an express agreement that he would not alienate revenue-paying land. The Bombay Act VI. of 1862 (for Ahmadābād) is superseded (in effect) by Act VI. of 1888, which applies not only to the Tālukdārs of Ahmadābād, but also to similar estates in Kairā, Pāñch Mahāls, and Bharoch: nor is it limited to "Tālukdārī" lands so called; it includes the estate of any Thākur, Mewāsi Chief, or Kasbāti, or one with the subordinate title of Nāik;\* so that all these estates are now legally on the same footing. They are landlord-estates, subject to the payment of revenue, like other estates elsewhere.† No further proceedings can be taken under the Act of 1862, but action must be under the Act of 1888, and a Revenue-Survey can now be lawfully made where required; and certain parts of the Revenue Code (Act V. of 1879) apply: there is also a regular procedure for partition. The Act also expressly disables the owner from alienating any part of the estate with effect beyond his own life-time:—except a special official sanction has been obtained. (This does not apply to those arrangements made for liquidating debts under the Act of 1881, Sections 24, 28, etc.)

It is only necessary briefly to add that laws were afterwards made for the relief of estates in Kairā, and Bharoch (only) first in 1871, then in 1877, and finally in 1881.‡ The latter (Act XXI. of 1881) is still in force, the former Acts (all but certain provisions) being repealed.

These remarks apply to those "estates" which the chiefs retained as "Tālukdārs," "Mewāsis," etc.; but historically we have to take account of certain remnants of estates once held, which it will be remembered were "resumed" under the Moslem Governments, leaving only fragments under the denomination of "wāntā" lands: some of them still remain; but are not reckoned (necessarily) as "Tālukdārī" estates. If they consist of isolated fields, they merely become revenue-free or "inām" plots (on paying a quit-rent). Sometimes they are in larger groups, probably paying a fixed tribute, and these may be distinguished as "udhadjama-bandi" lands. Col. Anderson wrote in 1872-73, that it "was common to find one half of a village paying revenue, and the other "wāntā"—defined by some fixed boundary, such as a road or stream, the village site itself being also divided. No holder of "wāntā" had any written title; the

\* The account given in *Bombay Gasetteer*, vol. iv., was written, it should be remembered, before 1881. Neither the old nor the present Act says anything about primogeniture; it is a question of family and local custom.

† And that is calculated at 50 per cent. of the "assets."

‡ These Acts, for reasons which it is not necessary to go into, were passed in the Legislative Council of India.



number and area of such holdings were allowed on the ground of tradition and possession, as set down in the earliest records of British rule. In the same way where a salāmi or quit-rent is paid the amount has been fixed on the basis of old custom only.

It remains, having stated the modern legal position of the estates, to give some illustrations of the actual character of the Tālukdārī, Mewāsi, Kasbātī, and Mālīki estates.

*Tālukdārī and Mewāsi Estates.*

Estates bearing these designations are found in the Viramgāon, Dholkā, Dundhukā, and Goghā subdivisions of Ahmadābād, and some (Mewāsi) in Prāntij and Modāsa. It may be interesting to arrange the several estates in a short table, giving in one view the number of villages subject to the tenure, and the clan or class of owners in each case.

Subdivision.	Total Villages.	Belonging to "Tālukdārs," etc.	Details as to Clan, etc., of Estate-holders.
Dandhukā.	147	144	{ 48 Chuḍāsama Rājput. 44 Jhālā       " 1 Rāval       " 1 Vāghelā     " 4 Families of bards (Chāran). 4 Kāthī. 4 Religious persons. 7 Different classes. 15 Molsalām (couverts). 3 Muhammadans (original).
Dholkā.	119	54	35 Rājput (chiefly Vāghelā). 19 Moslem Kasbātis.
Viramgāon.	83	83	69 Chūnwāl Koli. 4 Jhālā Rājput. 2 Molsalām. 8 Kasbātis.
Goghā.	56	56	54 Gohil Rājput. 2 Baro families (Bhāroh).
Sānand.	82	35	34 Vāghelā Rājput. This apparently includes two tolerable sized estates: a Chovisi (24 villages) by the Chief of Sānand, and 8 villages by his relation the Chief of Gāngar. (See "Rāsmālā," p. 400, i.)

It may be noted that in the returns the titles "grāsiyā" and "bhūmiyā" are still entered, and when the estate is of a single village, or a share in one, the estate-holder is called "gāmeṭī." The Koli or Koli-Rājput chiefs (*e.g.*, in the Chūnwāl) have the title of Thakordā.\*

It is curious to notice that the converts are still distinguished as "molsalām" which, I suppose, is no longer regarded as a term of reproach against their ancestors. In the outlying Prāntij tālukā (not shown in the table) there are thirty-seven villages of "Mewāsi" chiefs, and four in Modāsa.

\* In the "Rāsmālā" the word is usually written Thākurrā, as if a diminutive of Thākur.

"A Tālukdār's estate," says the writer of the *Ahmadābād Gazetteer*,\* "is held either by an individual, or by a family. Only seven estates, each forming the domain of a chiefship (or *gādī*), are held by single landlords." The others are shared among the "bhaiyād," or members of the kindred. Each principal sharer will (again) provide for his sons by giving a village, or a share in one, which will revert to the head in case the son dies childless. But when the head dies, all the sons divide equally, unless the custom is otherwise. And where primogeniture is not recognised the custom varies somewhat: thus the Kāthi have equal division, and do not exclude females. The Jhālā allow the eldest son  $1\frac{1}{2}$  shares, and so do the Chuḍāsamā. The Chūnvāliya Koli have a somewhat peculiar custom: while the principal heads of families hold certain villages, the subordinate sharers do not get defined lands, but a portion of produce only, in definite fractions however; others again only get whatever subsistence they can manage to obtain. Over this there is perpetual quarrelling. The writer of the *Gazetteer* adds that "among them (the Chūnvāliya) the sharers are so numerous, and their influence so divided and uncertain, that except perhaps at Bhānkora, there is nowhere anything like a separate chiefship." Of the whole estate of 41 villages (whence the name Chūnvāl) there are 65 owners; four hold two villages each; fourteen hold one; and there are nineteen villages shared among 47 persons.

In regular estates the principal sharers (heads of main branches) are called "mukshbhāgdār"; they not only have their allotted fraction of the estate, but a corresponding portion of the village site, within which they locate their own tenants, labourers, etc., and take the customary dues, and have the right to the house-timbers, in case the cottage should be abandoned. The head-sharer is responsible for the revenue of the whole share, and recovers the proper proportion from the sub-sharers (petābhāgdār). Again the collection of the several quota of the major shares is managed by one of their number called "wahiwāt-dār." The land is called "darbārī" if it pays rent to the landlord, or is held as "gharkhed" or home-farm-land by the family.† A part is usually held rent-free, or at low rates (pasāita or sanad-i-salāmī) as remuneration for village service, or held by bards, religious persons, and the like. It is obvious that where a family member has obtained a village by partition as his share, and his descendants multiply and subdivide the village in the fractions which result from their place in the genealogical "tree," we have exactly the *patidārī* joint village such as the Rājputs form in Upper India. But the Bombay system does not formally recognise that *status*.‡ In all villages completely dominated by the "darbār" or Tālukdārī kindred, we find (as usual) that the old "raiyaṭwārī" village organization of the cultivators has been completely overborne: "there are no hereditary village officers," and, except in Dholkā,

\* *Bombay Gazetteer*, iv. 184.

† This is exactly the same as the "Sīr" land of superior families in joint-villages and other landlord estates in Upper India.

‡ It does recognise a few special joint villages in Bharoch and Kairā which were such (formally) when British rule began. These were of a different kind, and did not originate in the partition of a larger estate in the way described.

"the very name of 'Pātel' is unknown." As the land is classified into "darbāri" and rent-free, so we may classify the village population into (1) the darbār, *i.e.*, the Tālukdār's family; (2) their attendants and hangers-on, usually Rājputs, but of a different clan; (3) the cultivating tenants; (4) the village menials and artizans, including a head of rural police (mukhi) appointed by the landlord. Tenants usually pay rent in kind, including even the cotton-crop (which in other parts is often included in the money-paying crops). Crops that are not easily divided pay at cash rates, so much per plough (santhi vero). Nothing peculiar is noticeable in the mode of grain division, except that a preliminary deduction from the heaps, of so much for seed-grain, is allowed before (a) the usual grain perquisites of the village servants, artizans, etc., are taken out, and (b) the ultimate division made between landlord and tenant. There are no questions of tenant occupancy right or other privilege.\*

In the KAIRĀ district, which was part of the regular Khālsa, and therefore was subject to the full "resuming" power of former rulers, it is worth while noticing how completely—except in a few of the more distant and impoverished "mewāsi" villages and estates of Thākurs in the vicinity of the Mahi river—the whole of the original Rājput estates had been broken into pieces and caused to disappear as estates; so much so that the modern writers of our accounts of Kairā merely treat those villages *en masse*, as representing two classes of occupants—those who paid ordinary revenue to Government, and those who did not. These latter, who pay nothing, or only a quit-rent on "political" grounds, are (for the most part) in reality the relics of Rājput landlord families' estates. All the remains are certain villages, or parts of villages which are "wāntā," or are held on a lump sum (and also unalterable) tribute called "udhadjamabandi."† The Thākurs (Koli) estates alluded to are poor, and frequently broken up into plots each with its own little hamlet, or group of tenants' huts (vās), each of which again may have its own sharer or petty chief in possession.

In the PANCH MAHALS district, which adjoins Kairā on one side, being a hilly and jungle-clad country, there were also a number of Koli chiefs. Their (Mewāsi) estates became encumbered, and have been placed under

\* Mr. A. Rogers remarks (*Journal East India Association*, vol. xiv., February, 1882): "My own opinion is that the Tālukdārs as a class are uneducated and improvident as well as to a great extent demoralized by the vice of opium eating: they will gradually disappear as landlords, and sink, as many of the junior branches already have, to the level of common cultivators. The sub-tenures of the estates, with which no interference has been permitted [this was written before the Act of 1888 was passed], carry within themselves the seeds of decay: for although the system of succession by primogeniture prevails among them, the junior members of each family, and all widows and connections to an almost unlimited degree of relationship, expect to have a livelihood provided for them out of the estate. In the course of a few generations the State will have to look for its dues to men occupying the position of landlords with inadequate means to meet them." This implies that the subsistence receivers do not pay anything towards the Government-revenue which the regular sharers have to make up among themselves.

† The *Kairā Gazetteer* takes no notice of udhadjamabandi lands: yet it would appear that this district is the principal locality for them. The statistical returns (for Bombay generally) show 123 villages held by 191 proprietors on the "tenure"—as the Bombay custom is to call it. I believe that most of these villages are in Kairā.

management in order to restore them. It is perhaps worth while to notice that the special cause of indebtedness here was that the Mahrāthā Government had farmed the revenues, and that the farmers used to employ bodies of troops to enforce payment. The estate holders, having no money, induced the officers of the troops to become security for them, and these in turn ran up their claims to a high figure by adding exorbitant interest and charges.\*

In the BHAROCH and SŪRĀT districts we have some rather curious developments of chiefs' estates, preserved, but rendered subordinate and revenue (or tribute) paying. These districts remained longer under the rule of Nawābs who were, or became, virtually independent; and they followed the wiser policy of preserving the old institutions of the country, and not driving the old "bhūmiyā" landlords to extremity.† In Bharoch nearly 7 per cent. of the assessable area was held by Rājput landholders with the title of Thākur. Some of these, Āmod (Ahmod) Sārod, Dahej, are considerable estates; their owners are Yādava "Rājputs," some of whom were converts to Islam, others not. It is in this district that I have noted a peculiarity which I presume cannot be unknown in other places, but has escaped mention. The estates as partitioned between the heads of the main-branch families, are not divided simply by so many villages to one, so many to another; but each share consists of lots or portions scattered over the general area of the clan estate—the object being to equalize the value or advantages of the shares,‡ e.g., Āmod consists of one whole village, and a number of detached lots scattered through fifty-seven other villages. The Dahej estate is made up of shares in nineteen different villages.

There are marks of the "conquering hand" on the estates, as we find some *parts* of them allowed to be udhādjamabandi, paying only a tribute in a lump sum (which is not liable to revision); other parts were distinguished as "rāhat-wāntā," a term which I understand to mean that they were allowed to be free of revenue, on condition of quiet and peace (rāhat) being maintained—and perhaps some other service rendered; otherwise they were liable to be called on at any moment to pay at full rates.

The method of division above alluded to deserves consideration, for it is found in the Oudh estates, and also particularly in the village estates of the 'Āzamgarh district (N.W. Provinces).§

\* The *Gazetteer* gives an instance of a Thākur's estate (of 40 villages) whose property was lying almost wholly uncultivated and heavily indebted to two troop-leaders. One claimed R. 4,390, the other R. 540; and until these amounts were paid, the two officers compelled the Chief to support them and their men at a cost of over R. 1,000 a year! (*Bombay Gazetteer*, iii., 261 *note*.)

† It is in Bharoch, for instance, that the exceptional village estates of the Bohrās were best preserved, owing to the conservative tendencies of the Nawāb's rule.

‡ The soil is of very variable quality (*Bombay Gazetteer*, ii., 482). Possibly also this diffusion was due to the "resumption" by the Government of the time of certain portions of the village, leaving only certain shares in each belonging to the estate. This is not cleared up.

§ There the distribution was solely for the purpose of securing equal values: and the result is perplexing: no estate could be surveyed as a compact block. The villages had to be surveyed locally as they stood, and the *estates* could only be made up in the records

The BHAROCH estates fell into pecuniary troubles, and had to be put under management under the Acts of 1871-81 like the rest, and this notwithstanding the fact that they seem to have enjoyed a rather favourable revenue-assessment. Thus the Āmod estate at full rates would pay R. 80,000 but (what with free-lands, reduced rates, etc.) it is only assessed at (in round numbers) R. 12,300.\*

The remaining coast district of SŪRĀT is, as regards Thākurs' or other Rājput landlord estates, in a similar condition. One of the revenue subdivisions still retains the name of "Chorāssi," indicating that it was once a Rājā's territory (of 84 villages). Indeed marks of the disruption of many other estates than those actually surviving, are discernible. There are "wāntā" lands here traceable to resumptions in the reign of Akbar (A.D. 1590); they are now only represented by scattered fields held revenue-free here and there in villages which otherwise are "Government villages"; but once these wāntā lands must have been part of a continuous local overlordship. Some free-lands bear also the designation "girāniya," intimating that they had been given in (unredeemed) mortgage to some chief as security for unpaid blackmail. The term "grāsiyā" also lingers in this district apart from any considerable estate still existing. The reason of this and of the "mortgaged" holdings seems to be that when under the repressive action of the local rulers, the Rājput chiefs were driven out of Sūrāt, and took refuge in the neighbouring wilder country of the Rewakāṇṭha, etc., they would make plundering expeditions to harass the villages they had once owned, and extort blackmail. This they did latterly (up to about 1803) in collusion with the Desāi, or State revenue officer;† the chief's agent (selot) would agree with him to levy an extra demand, and the two would share it. The curious way in which (whether with the Desāi's connivance or without it) the "ex-grāsiyā" chiefs would manage to levy something on their old villages, is worth noting. One instance is given in which a Rājput agent was one day observed to be standing gazing into a well; the people asked what he was doing. He replied that he was conversing with his father, who had long lived in that well. The women jestingly observed that in that case he had better bring some clothes to his father who must be cold in such a place. The agent then took off some part of his dress, and throwing it into the well, went his way. Not long after the villagers found occasion to rue their jest, for the

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by bringing together a list of the shares, strips, fields, etc., scattered through half a dozen different geographical *mausa*, or villages, which made up the total *mahāl* or estate held on one title, and liable as a whole to one sum of revenue for which the group of co-sharers were jointly liable.

\* It is worth while noting that in the Bharoch district money-rents have been customary among the cultivating tenants "from time immemorial." This is due to the influence of the Coast trade, and the ancient and flourishing port of Bharoch (Barygaza), at which coined money was early introduced and became abundant, producing a circulation in the inland agricultural villages.

† As the Chiefs were not (in general) left in possession, but a State officer (*desāi*) employed to collect, or rather to farm, the revenues of the villages, the *desāi* became officially called *Tālukdār*, or in charge of a *Talukā*, a name in other places given to the Chiefs in possession. This illustrates the meaning which the Governors used to attach to the term.

man returned with a party of followers, set fire to the village, and demanded payment for the clothes. The village has been saddled with a *yearly payment of Rs. 30 ever since!*

To summarize in a few words the history of the Rājput and Koli estates, it is only necessary to say that they were once ruling States, or shares in them, or dignified feudal grants, or at least subordinate baronies held in connection with such States. They were either fairly regularly managed estates (bhūmiya, grāsiyā), or were the tenures of illiterate freebooters in the wilder and more distant parts (Mewāsi). Many of them were destroyed outright, and simply became part of the Government lands, the raiyats paying their rents direct to the State officers. In other cases the estates melted away, leaving as their only memorial a number of bits of land held by this descendant or that, under the denomination of "wāntā": such lands could not form separate estates, but were regarded as "inām" or free holdings (or quit-rent holdings it might be) in the midst of the ordinary village lands. Lastly, some chiefs either on the ground of their conversion, or as a measure of policy, or because they were situated somewhat out of reach, were left in possession of so much of their original lands as fortune had preserved to them, but made subject to whatever payment the Governor of the time chose, or was able, to fix upon them. Though probably continuing to exercise a good deal of local authority, their political status as ruling-chiefs was, of course, lost (in the Khālśa districts), and the ruling-chief became, in fact, a subject landlord. These estates often suffered internally by continual partition and re-partition among the family descendants. They are now acknowledged as proprietorships or landlord estates; they are (or can be) surveyed, and all sub-shares and rights recorded: they are liable (except in case of lands entitled to special privilege as inām or as udhādjamabandi lands) to the ordinary assessment which is liable to periodic revision like any other revenue-demand.

In order to complete the survey of the landlord estates, it is necessary to return for a moment to the Ahmadābād district where are found the Kasbāti tenures, and to the Thānsra Tālukā of Kairā, where certain grantees known as "Māliks," have to be described; these tenures are interesting as another example indicating the peculiar way in which the overlord interests in India tend to grow up and also to be demolished.

#### *Kasbāti.*

The word means dweller in a "Kasba" or capital town of a (small chiefship, revenue-division or) Tālukā. These proprietors originated in Moslem times, but I have not been able to fix a precise date. The earliest were soldiers from Khurāsān, who were employed as mercenaries by the Wāghelā Kings of Anhilpur (A.D. 1230-1300). Others were Parmār Rājputs converts to Islam,\* while the most recent were Miyāna or Rihn (Moslem castes) from near Delhi, who obtained grants in reward for service to the Mahrātha Gaikwār. They were formerly regarded as a useful counterpoise against the

\* "Rāsmālā," p. 401. Such were the Parmārs of Māli, who, converted under Sultān Mahmūd Bigarhā, obtained a grant of land at Botād,

influence of the Rājput landholders. Col. Walker found them a bold and turbulent set, some of whom commanded the services of a considerable number of horsemen whom they hired out to such of the neighbouring powers as required them. Having made their headquarters at the *Kasba* of Dholkā they amassed wealth: and the Mahrāthas found them useful. The Dholkā division had (in the disorders of the time) been reduced to an uncultivated waste. The Kasbātis offered to employ their capital in restoring cultivation, on condition that each village which they "restored" should be leased to them at a fixed revenue-total for a term of years. Of course the leases (as always) were by their influence continually renewed; and from this vantage ground, having bought up or taken in mortgage (for arrears of rent) many lands in the neighbourhood, the Kasbātis grew into the position of *de facto* landlords. In 1817, however, the whole of the villages were treated by the Government officers as ordinary raiyatwāri villages, of the revenues of which the Kasbātis had hitherto held the farm or lease: but under the advice of Mr. Elphinstone (above alluded to) the rights of the Kasbātis were to some extent recognised; periodic "leases" were given—the revenue being fixed at two-thirds of the landlord's share—placing them on the same footing as the Tālukdārs. Nor were the Kasbātis (or some of them at least) better off: the chief among them, Bāpu Miyan, fell into great distress. In time, by the effect of certain Government rules, the provisions of the Tālukdārs Act of 1862 were extended to them.\* At the same time an inquiry into the origin of the Kasbāti claims was made, and it appeared that a considerable proportion of each "estate" was made up of lands mortgaged or sold to them as the revenue-farmers of some neighbouring centre. Accordingly only a limited number of villages were allowed to continue on the "Kasbāti" tenure. Some villages were "resumed" (and settled with the *raiya*t) as a just title was not established to the superior ownership. Others were not actually taken away from the holders, but were surveyed in detail and assessed at full rates, the holders being "superior occupants." Only the actual area of the old "farms" seems to have been allowed any revenue-privilege, and that in a varying degree. The result was that of 56 villages in Ahmadābād and Kairā, twenty-two were "resumed," that is, found not subject to the Kasbāti's claims at all. In 5 villages there was (for some reason I have not discovered) a special Government management imposed: in 12 villages the Kasbātis remain as superior occupants, but at full assessment; in 9 a special grant is given, allowing the Kasbāti 20 per cent. of the revenue-receipts (a sort of "Tālukdāri allowance" as it would be called in Upper India): in 8 the "Kasbāti" is recorded as in the 12 just mentioned, but with the variation that the benefit of the superior title is represented by the "inferior" or direct occupants having to pay a rent-rate not exceeding twice the survey (revenue) rate.†

\* The Act did not define the term Tālukdār. When the revised Act of 1888 was passed, the term was made (by definition) to include Kasbātis, as I have already explained.

† In the Agricultural Returns of 1890-91, I observe that the Table (Bombay D. varieties of tenure) does not separate the Kasbāti from the tālukdāri estates, and represents the total (tālukdāri) villages as 530 held by 493 "proprietors," so that most estates must consist of but a single village each. Mewāsi villages are still shown separately.

*Māliki Villages.*

As already mentioned, these tenures are found in one place—the Thānsra Tālūkā of KAIRĀ (Kheḍā). They are examples of estates which were once simply and purely proprietary, by free-grant of the Ruler, in reward for service. They had, however, in the course of time, become so divided up, that the proposal to constitute them a series of estates (in the hands of the principal sharers or heads of existing families) on the basis of the “Tālukdāri” or Thākurs’, or the Kasbāti estates, was declined by the holders.

A certain number (not stated in the histories) of soldiers who had shown bravery in the storming of the Fort of Pāvangaṛh (Chāmpāner) in A.D. 1483 were rewarded by the Sultān with a free grant of land of about 90 square miles in extent. They divided this up, and established a certain number of original villages—the parents of all the rest. In 1828 a report speaks of the tract as the “Bārāgām,” or 12 villages.\* As the families grew, the usual process is observable; additional lands were brought under cultivation; small hamlets were built in the vicinity of the new lands: these gradually grew into independent villages. When the Survey (of 1860) reached them, they appear to have numbered 17, and in 1872-73 Col. Anderson speaks of 27.

Originally these villages were held in full property, and were free of land revenue. But the Mahrāthas, of course, imposed a fixed tribute or quit-rent, and after their manner, supplemented the demand of a further cess called “ghās-dāna” (on the pretence of it being to supply grain and grass for the chiefs’ horses).† The “Māliks” shared the burden with their tenantry; for while the latter paid the usual rents in kind (wajé) and also a new cess (to help pay the ghās-dāna), called “karmvero,” at the same time the proportion of produce taken was reduced from one-half to one-third. In the first years of British rule it would seem that there was some mismanagement, and the villages were made to pay revenue to the Government, as well as a tribute (which went in some cases to Baroda, in others to another state). In 1824, however, the Māliks obtained the benefit of Mr. Elphinstone’s orders (above alluded to), and were allowed to manage their own villages as landlords, paying a lump-sum of revenue. When the Survey was made, it seems that the usual tendency to regard the estates as “Government lands” was manifested; that is to say, whatever lands were found in the actual possession of the Mālik families themselves were treated as a kind of “alienated” land, and recorded as their property; but all the tenant-lands were called “Government lands.” Under the latter or more modern procedure of survey, however, it was proposed that the villages (as now divided between the various branches of the original families) should be regarded as so many proprietary estates, each paying a

\* Not, I apprehend, that (by that time) there were only 12 villages—representing the divided lots of 12 descendant families—but that the tradition of this number of parent-villages lingered and gave its name to the locality.

† Col. Anderson says that this was levied as long as 150 years ago—i.e., at the first beginning of Mahrātha interferences: hence in after days the levy was regarded as established by a sort of prescription.



total or lump-sum of revenue. This, however, the Māliks declined, on the ground that the shareholders had become so numerous that they would not be able to manage.\*

Accordingly all the villages were surveyed like any other lands. Only the "gharkhed" or home farms and lands in actual possession of the Mālik families, were permitted to be held revenue-free; and arrangements were made to give them a certain proportion (varying from a little more to a little less than 50 per cent.) of the Government-revenue assessment on all the remaining (tenant) lands. The Government appoints village officers, but on the nomination of the Māliks. Thus the formal existence of the tenure as a class of "estates" has virtually come to an end: the original owners are, in fact, revenue-freeholders of particular fields; and pensioners or beneficiaries on the revenue, of the rest. It is, in fact, essentially the spirit of the different revenue-systems that has led to the conclusion—which is, after all, quite possibly to the benefit of the families. Under a different system they would most certainly have become patidārī village communities, and included in the common mass of those bodies which are supposed to illustrate primitive community of property in land!

\* Of course, as in other cases, each chief sharer would be answerable for the *quota* of the sub-sharers, and some chief manager would be responsible (in turn) to collect the shares of the principals: it was this sort of joint liability that they feared. In Upper India each village body of co-sharers would have been recorded as a *pattidārī* village community; and the difficulty would have been solved by so fixing the revenue-total and adjusting the "bāchh" (or list of payments to be made by each co-sharer) that quarrels would be obviated.

## HAJIS AND THE HAJJ.

BY THE REV. J. D. BATTE, M.R.A.S.

THE latter of these two words is the term technically in use among Muḥammadans to designate the observance of "pilgrimage" as practised by them. The word is also spelt "Hijj"—a variant form, the exact sense of which as distinguished from the other form is a point of learned dispute which it does not fall within our present purpose to follow up.\* But the reader should be on his guard against the various fantastic spellings of the word—such as Haj, Hadj, Hedj, Hadje, Hagge, Hadsh, etc.—all of which have distinguished English and Continental patrons. As we are bound to adopt some particular form of the word, we prefer to adopt the one which best exhibits to the English eye the exact value of the original letters.

The word is derived from the Hebrew substantival form *Khâg*, which signifies "a festival"; and as the Jews had to go to Jerusalem to observe their festivals, the word comes to signify also "a religious journey"; and hence "a pilgrimage." Thus much for the Hebrew: in Arabic the term signifies "a repairing to," "a betaking one's self to," "a setting out for," "a tending towards." It is explained by Muslim divines to be equivalent to *Qasd*, "an aspiring"; and they say that it expresses a man's sentiment that he is but a wayfarer on earth, wending his way towards another and better world.† This interpretation helps to explain the origin of the belief that the greater the hardships endured while on the Pilgrimage the greater at last will be the reward of the pious wanderer. He is said to be urged on by the voice within his soul: "O thou that toiled so hard for worldly pleasures and perishable profit, wilt thou endure nothing to secure a more lasting benefit?" Hence it is that pilgrimage is common to all *old* Faiths. Not only did the Jews annually flock to Jerusalem, but even the philosophers of Greece and Rome in classic times made pilgrimages to the land of the Pharaohs. Pilgrimage evidently appeals to some sentiment common to mankind and deep-seated in the nature of the race. The spirit of pilgrimage was predominant in mediæval Europe; and the processions of the Roman Catholic Church are, according to the statements of her votaries, but modern memorials of the rite.

The pilgrimages, however, of Muslims, like those of Hindûs, are not limited to one spot. Besides Mekka, there are very many other places also to which they are wont to perform pilgrimages. These numerous localities are situated in all lands in which Muḥammadans dwell in no less than three out of the four quarters of the globe; and they are chiefly memorable and revered in the estimation of the pilgrims by reason of historical association. Many of them are burial-places of persons regarded by the Faithful as specially holy; such as Pîrs, Walîs, etc. These terms are the technical epithets of canonized saints: the former, signifying "venerable men," is applied to spiritual guides or superiors; also to those

\* The reader who cares to pursue the point may, with advantage, consult Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 814, col. 2 (edn. Lond., 1865).

† Cf. Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii. 372 (edn. Lond., 1857).

who may have been the founders of religious sects or schools; while the latter is applied to men held to have been particular friends (or favourites) of God, and it attributes to those who wear it a measure of Divine inspiration. Burckhardt speaks of there being one of these localities at Tanta, in the Delta of the Nile. A festival is celebrated there no less than three times a year in honour of a Pîr ("saint") named "Al-Badawi." As many as a hundred thousand persons sometimes swarm thither from all parts of Egypt to perform a pilgrimage resembling in many respects the Pilgrimage of Mekka,—swallowing up savings collected for the purpose by the poorer classes of Cairo. As to the word "Hajj," however, it is limited in its application, being strictly confined to denoting "pilgrimage to the city of Mekka and the performance of the annual religious ceremonies of the place." Religious journeys to all the other places which Muslims deem sacred are designated by the subordinate and more commonplace term *Ziyârat*, "a religious journey" or "call," "a pious visitation." Even journeys to Medîna and Karbala are not honoured by the term "Hajj." Not only so; even a journey to the Sacred City itself is not called by the specific and dignified term "Hajj" unless it be performed at a certain season of the Muslim year—to wit, in the period embraced by the four days extending from the 7th to the 10th of *Zu'l-Hijja*, the twelfth and last month of the Muḥammadan year; and unless also the pilgrim perform in detail there a certain set of ceremonies in a certain order. The most essential of these ceremonies is the being present at 'Arafât on the occasion of the delivery of the annual sermon there in the afternoon of the 9th of the month just named: this ceremony is technically known as *Al-Waqfa* ("the Standing"—scil., "on 'Arafât"), and is absolutely indispensable.

The man who has actually performed the Hajj is entitled by law to wear, till the day of his death and ever after, the proud and envied epithet of "Hâji." The form and pronounciation of this title depend upon localities; but the root of all the forms of it is one and the same, and so is the sense or intention. Thus, in Egypt the man would be called "Hâjj" or "Hâjjj": the latter of these is the less general form, and its plural is "Hâjjj": of the former there are two plurals, "Hujj" and "Hujjâj." Lane says that "Hâjj" is the most usual form of the title among genuine Arabs, but that "Hâji" is also Arabic, and is used synonymously and interchangeably therewith by the Turks and Persians: he adds, however, that he has not found the word so used in any classic work. This learned and careful observer elsewhere says that in Egypt the term "Hâjj" is applied both collectively and individually; in other words, to an entire "caravan of pilgrims," to any body of Mekkan pilgrims whatsoever, and also to a single pilgrim.\* This corresponds entirely with Burton's usage, who was wont to sign himself "Al-Hâjj." In Hindustân the form "Hâji" prevails very extensively, almost exclusively; and there is danger of inferring by the analogy of the language (that is to say, from its termination) that this is a Hindustani form: it is, however, a genuine Arabic form, and is very

\* Cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 181; his *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 515, cols. 1 and 2; and his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, chap. xv., note 34 (or vol. ii., p. 4763, edn. Lond., 1840).

extensively used elsewhere than in Hindustân. Burckhardt, who was never in India, uses this form invariably; and such a circumstance justifies the inference that in his experience this form of the word was more in vogue than any other in the immense territories of Asia and Africa in which he travelled. Palgrave, also, and Wolff, and other non-Muslim writers, whose travels were mainly confined to Arabia and Syria, constantly use this term, and no other. Burton agrees with Lane, and he adds that the Egyptians pronounce the word "Hâgg" (with the hard sound of these final letters). This is in keeping with the occidental pronunciation of this letter (jeem). And Burton adds that in Persia also, and in India and Turkey, the epithet is written and pronounced "Hâji." This form, and no other, is used by Pitts also, who was never in India. Upon the whole, therefore, there appears no reason for regarding "Hâji" as other than an Arabic form, it having, throughout Muḥammadan countries (not excepting Arabia itself), the sanction of general usage.

We may here observe that, as applied to the genuine "pilgrim," the title is prefixed to his name: thus, "Hâji Wâhidu'd-Dîn," "Al-Hâjj Abdullah," etc. This is the usage in conversation, the Article, however, being generally omitted; but in writing, the title (the Article being prefixed) is most generally put *after* the name: thus, "Maulvi Abdu'r-Raḥîm al-Hâjj" (or al-Hâji). In the circle of his immediate acquaintance the pilgrim is, in many instances, more frequently known by the proud title of "Hâji," or "Hâji Sâhib," than even by his own proper name; and be his subsequent history what it may, it is a title that can never be forfeited nor relinquished: he wears the distinction to the end of life, and none can take it away from him. It is hence quite usual for him to get it added to his seal; and in this case it is sometimes prefixed as an initial: thus, "H. R. Khân Esq." for "Hâji Rahimatu'l-lah Khân." So highly is the title valued, and so desired withal, that it is often (like the title "Hâfiz") applied in flattery to a man whom one wishes to appease or conciliate, or whom one would place at his ease. It is in such case understood on all hands that such usage is purely a matter of compliment, and that there is no loss of prestige to the title in such an application of it, provided, of course, that the man to whom it is applied is really a Muḥammadan. For if he is not really a Hâji, he would at all events consider it the proudest happiness of his life to become one. It is hence the custom among Arabs to apply the feminine form of the word ("Hâjja") to an old woman as a token of conciliation, veneration, and respect.

Very different from this must have been the good-humoured application of the sobriquet to Dr. Wolff by the wags who understood his infirmity better than the eccentric man understood it himself. He records, with unmoved gravity, that in consequence of his "having been at Jerusalem" he was "universally acknowledged as a Hadshee by Jews and Mahomedans all over Asia." The title, as also that of "Muqaddasi" (one who has performed the prescribed duties at the Baitu'l-Muqaddas, or Temple of Jerusalem), is, to be sure, applied by Christians to those of their co-religionists, who have fulfilled the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. But the mere "journey to Jerusalem" is not enough: Dr. Wolff forgets that in order to become a

"Muqaddasi" a man must spend in Jerusalem the whole season of the Passover, and assist at all the ceremonies in the "Holy Weeks."\* But even in the case of such a person, to apply the title "Hâji" would but be the merest misappropriation of the Muhammadan usage. That Wolff does not appear to have clearly apprehended the conditions and import of the title is rendered evident in another place where he applies it to "a woman of Lucknow" (as he calls her) named "Hindee Zohoree Alnesa" because she "had performed a pilgrimage to the sepulchre of the Imam Husein at Kerbelay, and to the sepulchre of the Prophet of Mecca."† If, indeed, the lady had thus visited Madîna, it is more than probable that she had performed the journey to the companion city as well, and was on that account the honoured bearer of the title. But the sentence, as Wolff writes it, is curiously inexact, for we learn that even the visit to Mekka does not of itself entitle a man to be called "Hâji." This is in accordance with Lane, who says: "It is not by the visit to Mekkeh and the performance of the ceremony of circuiting the Kaabeh seven times and kissing the Black Stone in each round, and other rites in the Holy City, that the Mooslim acquires the title of El-Hâgg (or 'the Pilgrim'): the final object of the pilgrimage is Mount Arafât, six hours' journey distant from Mekkeh." The only value of the title is that it singles a Musalmán out from all other men—even from his co-religionists, if they have not distinguished themselves by undergoing the same exhausting and expensive ordeal of the journey to 'Arafât and back on the 9th of Ziu'l-Hijja. It is simply impossible to perform the Hâjj, even at the prescribed localities, unless one does so at the appointed season: so that if "Mahomedans all over Asia" call a man a "Hâji" merely from his having "been at Jerusalem," the inference is that the title must, in their estimation, have changed its signification and lost its ancient prestige; for thousands of "infidels" even "visit Jerusalem." The alternative consideration is that the "Mahomedans all over Asia," to whom Wolff alludes, must have been ignorant of the meaning and usage of this their own word!

\* Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, iii. 315.

† The looseness with which the term "Hâji" is used, especially in Shia communities and in the remoter parts of the Islâmic world, is rather strikingly exemplified in the interesting work of Arminius Vambéry. He never appears to be aware that a "Hâji" is one who has performed the "Hajj"; he always defines it as the epithet of one who has visited the Prophet's tomb! (see p. 137 of his work). And so satisfied is he as to this being the proper definition of the word that he soon speaks of one who has visited that tomb on several occasions as a double "hadji" (p. 139). When a traveller of Vambéry's acumen, opportunities, and learning fails to come within sight of the meaning of a term so distinctly technical, it is evident that the word has no clear definition among the tribes amongst whom he travelled. So that we have the curious fact that the term was applied to a lady who had merely visited Madinah; to Wolff, who had merely visited Jerusalem; and to Vambéry, who had never visited either Mekkah, or Madina, or the Baitu'l-'Aqsa (see p. 147). There evidently, therefore, is need that the precise definition of the word were discussed. But Vambéry's otherwise fascinating narrative of strange adventure in the mysterious East is here and there disfigured by unaccountable mistakes on technical points. If he was aware that he was using the word in a sense so far removed from its strict technical application, it would have been well if he had stated as much in a footnote.

Wolff alludes, of course, not to the mere "visit to Jerusalem," but to the Mosque of 'Umar there, the "Baitu'l-'Aqsa" (so named). Not Jerusalem only, but (subsequently to Wolff's time) even the Mosque of 'Umar, has been freely visited by Christians; but they are certainly not regarded by the Faithful as having *ipso facto* earned any claim to the title of "Hāji." For a Hāji is one who has performed the Hajj, a ceremony which cannot be performed anywhere else than at 'Arafāt, in the territory of Mekka. The lady of whom Wolff speaks may have been, like himself, a great traveller to sacred places; but for anything he mentions to the contrary, she, like himself, was certainly no Hāji.

The bare word of Dr. Wolff, in regard to this or any other matter, appears never to have been called in question in that circle of English admirers in which he moved; and from this circumstance he appears to have assumed that they accepted him at his own appraisal. But it is impossible to read his works without feeling that his scholarship was not of a high order and that his information was often open to criticism. His loose and ramshackle style of writing, moreover, is such as is not calculated to inspire confidence in his accuracy as a representative of facts. The only explanation of the circumstance that the Faithful "all over Asia" dubbed him with such a title seems to be that they everywhere perceived (what he appears to have been too little aware of to attempt to disguise)—to wit, that he was the subject of an extravagant egotism and a most unconscionable degree of puerile vanity. Any misgiving as to the justice of this remark will be removed on a careful perusal of the good man's writings. They repay perusal, though the reasonings, and especially the "facts," need to be received with circumspection. Wolff evidently records the circumstance in the most artless good faith, and is too much blinded by his overweening self-consciousness to perceive the pleasantries of which he was the object, but the opportunity for which the subtle Oriental is always so quick to see. Burckhardt, whose excellent sense has never yet fallen under suspicion, assures us that the assumption of this proud distinction by anyone who has not a proper and legal claim to it merely exposes a man to ridicule.\* The great traveller wrote the statement prior to the time of the eccentric and ubiquitous Wolff. As an apology for this apparent digression, we would remark that when the statements of a traveller of Wolff's pretensions are so subversive of fact, it plainly is nothing more than a duty to put the student on his guard.

Hājis of the more retiring temperament have been known to hesitate as to the adoption of the title. It is sometimes spoken of as a "proud" title, an "envied" title; and their scruple appears to be grounded on a misinterpretation of these adjectives. The title is usually engraven by Hājis on their seals and envelope dies; they also use it in their sign-manuals, and get it printed on their visiting-cards, their sign-boards, etc.; and it is this publicity and permanency from which the humble, sensitive nature of some Muḥammadans recoils. But every sincere Muslim who can, by the law of Islām, lay claim to the title which proves him to have yielded obedience to the requirement of the Qur'ān that he make the pilgrimage,

\* Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii. 76.

is but too thankful for the privilege of adopting it. There is not necessarily, however, any evidence of overweening pride in his assumption of the right ; on the contrary, he is the very person for whose distinction the title exists. Such self-effacing modesty, however, ought not to be taken advantage of by any. Nor should it be forgotten that the followers of the Prophet are a people who are apt at times to stand on their dignity : to wilfully ignore a man's claim to the title would be cruel, unjust, and snobbish ; for he has fairly earned it by obeying the law of his religion, and this at great personal inconvenience and discomfort, at no small danger to life and limb, and at considerable expenditure of money. All Muḥammadans, moreover, are not of the same temperament. Though the title is, as a matter of common politeness, invariably applied to the man by well-bred persons who have to address to him letters and memorials, yet for him to take umbrage at those who may happen to omit the title when writing to him might be deemed by Muḥammadans an excess of egotism. As to usage, we have already pointed out that the title is sometimes put before the pilgrim's name, and sometimes after it ; but in both places—before the name and after it—the title is never put : this would be accounted a piece of vanity which would expose a man to certain ridicule among his co-religionists. Lastly, the title is not usually applied to a man by word of mouth, whether in addressing him or in making allusion to him : it is regarded as a sacred epithet, not to be lightly bandied about. And, upon the whole, the usage which regulates the application of it is much on a par with that of University degrees among ourselves. It is not, however, as some have supposed, a mere question of Muḥammadan sociology : it is that, and vastly more—it has reference to a matter of religion of the greatest importance to members of the Islāmic faith. The real difficulty about the matter, as it regards the more sensitive persons just alluded to, is this, that although the Qur'ān so emphatically enjoins the duty of performing the Ḥajj, yet it nowhere sanctions the application of the title to those who perform it, nor indeed does the epithet once occur in the whole book : the only sanction for the use of the title is found in the traditional literature of the Faith. Nor is there any evidence that the Prophet himself ever authorized or enjoined the assumption of the title, or that he ever applied it to himself, though he performed the Ḥajj on several occasions. But inasmuch as the Ḥajj is the first and chief of the five Farz duties, the man who performs it is regarded by his co-religionists as a man whose faith in his religion and whose loyalty to the teachings, example, and personality of the Prophet are facts now placed beyond possibility of dispute.

# CHINESE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE KAABA QUESTION.

By E. H. PARKER.

## 1.—OLD T'ANG HISTORY (COVERING PERIOD A.D. 600—900).

THE Ta-shih<sup>1</sup> State was originally westward of Persia. During the reign Ta-yeh, there was a Hu man of Persia pasturing camels in the Mo-ti-na mountains of Kū-fên.<sup>2</sup> Suddenly there was a lion which with human speech addressed him, saying: In the west of these mountains there are three caves,<sup>3</sup> and in the caves are great store of weapons: you might take them. In the caves also there is a black stone with white characters: read them, and you will then come to the royal throne.

The Hu man followed these words, and, sure enough, he saw that in the cave there was a stone, besides a great number of spears and swords. On it there were characters teaching him to rebel. On this he assembled desperadoes, crossed the Hêng-Koh River,<sup>4</sup> and took to robbing merchant caravans. His horde gradually swelled in number, when he cut off and occupied the west parts of Persia, and set himself up as King. Persia and Fuh-lin each sent soldiers to make war on him, but they were all beaten by him.

In the second year of the reign Yung-hwei<sup>5</sup> he first sent envoys to Court with tribute. The family name was the Ta-shih clan: personal name Tan-mih Moh-moh Ni-tsz: he said they had held the power now for thirty-four years, extending over three masters' reigns. . . . The Kū-fên Mo-ti-na mountains are in the south-west part of the country, near to the great sea. The King moved the black stone in the cave, and placed it in the state [capital]. . . . One says that in the Sui reign K'ai-hwang amongst the tribes of the Ta-shih there was the Ku-liéh clan,<sup>6</sup> which acted as chieftain for them. In this Ku-liéh clan, again,



there were two family names, one P'ên-ni Hi-shên, and one P'ên-ni Moh-hwan. Amongst the later Hi-shên there was a certain Mo-ho-moh, brave, sturdy, and full of expedients. The populace set him up as ruler. East and west he made conquests, extending his land 3,000 *li* and annexing to it Hia-lah,<sup>7</sup> one name of which was Sien city (Sien to be read as Siem). There were fourteen of Mo-ho-moh's successors to Moh-hwan,<sup>8</sup> who killed his elder brother I-tsih, and set himself up.

## II.—T'ANG HISTORY (THE LAST REMODELLED).

During the Sui reign Ta-yeh there was a man of Persia state pasturing in the Mo-ti-na mountains of Kû-fên, when a beast spoke, saying: In three caves west of the mountains there are sharp weapons, and a black stone with white characters: he who gets it will rule. Going to look, he found as spoken. The stone writing said he ought to rebel; so he cajoled the populace, and assembling desperadoes at the Hêng-Koh River, he robbed merchant caravans, held the western part [of Persia], and himself ruled it as King: he moved the black stone, and treated it as of value: all the people of the state who went to make war on him were beaten back thoroughly. On this he became powerful, destroyed Persia, routed Fuh-lin,<sup>9</sup> etc.

In the second year of Yung-hwei the Ta-shih King Han-mih Moh-moh Ni<sup>5</sup> first sent envoys to Court with tribute, who represented that the kings were of the Ta-shih clan; that they had held the power for thirty-four years, and had passed it on to two successors.

. . . One says that amongst the Ta-shih tribes there is the Ku-lieh clan of hereditary chieftains styled "white clothes Ta-shih"; in this clan there are two family names, one P'ên-ni Moh-hwan, the second Hi-shên:<sup>6</sup> there was a certain Mo-ho-moh, brave and knowing: the populace set him up as King: he extended his land 3,000 *li*, conquered Hia-lah city, and transmitted to fourteen generations, when Moh-hwan killed his elder brother I-tsih, and set himself up.

## III.—SUNG HISTORY (A.D. 950—1200).

The Ta-shih were originally another sort of Persians. In the Sui reign Ta-yeh, there was a man of unscrupulous ability, who groped in a cave, and got an inscribed stone, which he treated as a lucky omen: he proceeded to assemble his host and rob merchandise; as his followers collected, he became influential, and proceeded to set himself up as King, possessing himself of the west parts of Persia. From the time of the T'ang reign Yung-hwei, they frequently came to court with tribute. Up to their King P'ên-ni Wei-hwan they were called "white clothes Ta-shih" [Wei is a misprint for and almost undistinguishable from Muh]

## IV.—MING HISTORY (A.D. 1370—1640).

[T'ien-fang] traditions<sup>13</sup> say the religious founder of the Mussulmans, one Ma-ha-ma, first in this land practised his faith, and, dying, was buried there. On the pinnacle of his tomb there is a brightness, which is extinguished neither by day nor by night. . . . Behind Mahama's tomb there is a well,<sup>10</sup> the water of which is clear and sweet: those who cross the seas always draw of it to take away with them; and if they meet with typhoons, and scatter some of the water, it is at once calmer. . . . Mê-têh-na<sup>2</sup> is the Mussulman fatherland: the land is near T'ien-fang. . . . Tradition says that at the beginning King Mu-han-mêh-têh was born with supernatural powers, and entirely subdued the states of the Western Regions [of Asia]: these states honoured him as *pieh-an-ao-rh*,<sup>11</sup> which means "messenger from Heaven." . . . During the Sui reign K'ai-hwang, Sa-ha-pa-sa-a-ti-kan-koh-sz<sup>12</sup> first came to preach his faith in China. . . . Also<sup>13</sup> called Mêh-kia and T'ien-t'ang.

\* \* \* \* \*

## NOTES IN EXPLANATION.

The above four extracts from the Old T'ang, T'ang, Sung, and Ming Histories appear to me to comprise the whole of what standard original Chinese works have to say of the Kaaba. The Old T'ang History was put together about A.D. 930, and covers documents gathered during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. The two next extracts upon Ta-shih are manifestly based on the first, and beyond giving a different turn to language

contain little new. The T'ang covers the same ground as the Old T'ang, and the Sung dynasty never had any influence in Western Asia. The Ming History was put together 150 years ago, and covers the period 1368 to 1643. But this extract about Arabia had already appeared in the Ming geography of about A.D. 1460. The old name Ta-shih is replaced by T'ien-fang, and the information is in a way original, the Chinese Envoy to Calicut having in 1420 met some Arabs there, and having sent a lieutenant back with their ship to Arabia in order to persuade their ruler to send tribute to China. I will now add a few words of specific explanation.

1. Why the Chinese called the Arabs Ta-shih has long been a theme of discussion. It is manifest from the above original sources that the Chinese considered the Ta-shih to be much the same as Persians. Dr. Edkins says the Tibetans called the Persians *Ta-jik*. D'Ohsen says (according to Dr. Bretschneider) that the Persians once called the Arabs *Tazy*. At present, according to Schuyler, the Tadjiks are the Persian element in Turkestan parts. By *Hu* the Chinese mean Persians, Jews, North Hindoos, and bearded Tartars; but it is a vague word.

2. Ta-yeh was A.D. 605-17, and Mohammed, the camel-driver, married the widow in or about 594. I have no idea what Kū-fên represents; possibly the province of Cufa may have included Medina: but Mo-ti-na is evidently Medina.

3. Later on, after the age of forty, Mohammed used to visit the cave of Hira, where he heard an angel's voice, as is well known. The Chinese have a tradition that the Arabian horses knew how to talk.

4. By Hêng-koh I suppose the Tigris or Euphrates is meant, but I cannot find all my old references on this point.

5. The second year of Yung-hwei was A.D. 651, and this was in Othman's time. Dr. Bretschneider identifies the words (as written in my second extract) *Han-mih Moh-moh Ni* with Othman's title of *Emir al mumemin*; but, as will be seen, the oldest authority gives more and different syllables. Abu Bekr, Omar, and Othman make the three successors.

6. Ku-lieh is, of course, Koreish, and the "white clothes" the Ommites. K'ai-hwang was A.D. 580-81. Perhaps specialists may be able to identify two such sub-divisions as Beni Hashem and Beni Merwan: at any rate Gibbon says Mohammed sprang from the tribe of Koreish, and the family of Hashem. It is evident that my second extract omits some essential words in speaking of the former. Gibbon says "Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem."

7. Hia-lah may be either the kingdom of Hira on the Euphrates, taken from Persia the year after Mohammed's death, or Hira near Mecca. The name "Shem" may assist to identify. On the whole I think Om-al-Kara (*i.e.*, Mecca itself) is meant. A poet of the Sung dynasty sings of the "priests venerating Hia-lah;" and a book dated 1537 says the Mussulmans of Malacca "worship Ha-la." It is just possible that in both cases "Allah" may be meant.

8. Moh-hwan may be Merwan II., the fourteenth and last of the Ommites (died 752). I-tsih contains within it the etymological potentialities of Izat or Isaac; but no doubt someone versed in Caliph history will be able to identify the word exactly.

9. Volumes have been written upon Fuh-lin, and I am disposed to agree with Dr. Edkins (against Dr. Hirth) that it is simply the Arab-Persian word *farang*, as seen in the later Chinese word *fuh-lang-ki*. Here I take it to be the Roman Empire, but only as visible in Syria and Asia Minor.

10. The well is Zemzem; the light that on the prophet's tomb. The Chinese confuse Mecca with Medina.

11. *Beighember* is meant, and *ao* is a misprint for *pah*, a character resembling it closely. The same word appears elsewhere in various Chinese disguises.

12. In his "Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine," M. Devéria has proved clearly that Saheb Saadi Wakkás is the preacher's intended name. *Kan* is a misprint for *wa*, which closely resembles it, and is almost always misread.

13. *T'ien-fang* (or *t'ang*), "heavenly place (or hall)," is, according to Devéria, a translation of *beit-ullah*, "house of God." Here we are told distinctly it is also called Mecca.

The above original information proves incontestably that the Chinese in the middle of the seventh century already possessed a fairly accurate notion of Mohammed and the Kaaba. But there is later information which goes much further.

(1) The Rev. G. W. Clarke, who was with me at Chung-k'ing in 1881, where we both made the same interesting Mussulman acquaintances, obtained from one of them a native pamphlet called the *Si-lai Tsung-p'u*, or "Genealogy of the Prophet from the West." He gives a rough translation of it in the *Chinese Recorder* for July, 1886. It appears from this story book that about A.D. 625 the Chinese Emperor heard in some way of Mohammed, and sent an officer named Shih T'ang by way of Hami and Bukhara to Mecca, whence he safely returned. His lieutenant, Wan-ko-si, subsequently visited Medina.

(2) There is still an old mosque at Canton, which I have often visited, and which tradition connects with Mohammed's uncle. My learned friend, M. Gabriel Devéria, about thirty years ago discovered at Tientsin another pamphlet called the *Hwei-hwei Yüan-lai*, or "Origine de l'Islamisme." It is evidently based on the same legend as Mr. Clarke's pamphlet, for Shih T'ang and Wan-ko-si both reappear (the latter as Ko-si Yin). Whilst rightly neglecting the story from a historical point of view, M. Devéria justly points out that the difference year by year between the Arab lunar year and the Chinese lunar-solar year from the seventh century right on to the fifteenth (the date when the story of Saadi Wakkás first appears in the Ming Geography) would account for an error of about twenty-four years; which perhaps explains why the Chinese put the first Mussulman arrivals in China so far back as A.D. 581, and give the first knowledge of Mohammed as A.D. 625. M. Devéria shows that in some unexplained way the first Arab political mission of 651 (which is indisputably connected in Chinese history with the flight of the Persian Prince, Piruz III. to China), has given rise to a legend about the *saheb* (i.e., "companion" of Mohammed) Saad (son of Abu) Wakkás, whose victory over the Persians in 636 opened up to the Arabs a way into High Asia. The

gallant soldier, like a modern Lord Charles Beresford, has been transformed into a gentle civilizer.

(3) M. Rocher, an old resident in Yün Nan, now French Consul at the town whence I write (Liverpool), was personally acquainted over thirty years ago, with a Chinese named Ma Fu-ch'u, who actually went to Mecca. This Ma Fu-ch'u is no other than Ma Tê-hing, once known popularly as *Lao Papa*, or "Old Daddy," one of the leaders of the Panthay rebellion forty years ago. His disciple, Ma An-li, published in 1862 an illustrated account of the visit, which M. Devéria translates in the work I have above cited. Ma says: "The *K'ai-êrh-po* (Kaaba) is situated in the centre of a forbidden enclosure, almost square in shape: it is longer in a right and left sense than it is front and back; the front faces north-east, where there is a gateway; the reverse side faces south-west. The Kaaba is square, rising over 30 feet from the ground, and 27 feet in its sides: it is protected by a covering of rich material. The door of the Kaaba is on the left side of the front of the monument, 5 feet from the ground. In one of the angles is set the black stone, some four feet to the left of the door: it is set in a silver frame (*sertie en argent*), and is about the size of a man's head. About 20 paces in front of this chief apartment, is the station of Ipulahin (Abraham): this is the stone that he trod upon with his feet when he was rebuilding the Kaaba: this stone, on which there are foot-prints, is in an open edifice (*pavillon*)."

(4) There is yet another Chinese account, summarised and published under the Emperor's authority in 1749. A former colleague of mine, Mr. Kopsch, of the Imperial Maritime Customs, thus translates, in the *China Review* for 1885, the paragraph relating to the Kaaba: "One arrives at the temple called the *K'êh-êrh-po*, which is surrounded by a wall: the wall has no fewer than 466 gates (*i.e.*, arches or entrances), each side of the gate or archway being supported by pillars of white jade (*i.e.*, marble). Of these pillars there are 467, distributed as follows: In the front 99; at the back 101; on the left 132; on the right 135. . . . The roof of the temple is covered with a black silk covering, and on either side of the gateway are two black lions, mounted to guard the entrance. Every year . . . pilgrims . . . cut off pieces of the temple covering to keep as a relic. . . . To the left of the temple is the tomb of the patriarch Sz-ma-i (Ismael)."

It is curious that this last Chinese author says nothing of the black stone (unless it be one of the "black lions"). He speaks of the Zemzem Well ("Apu Sem-sem") as being in Medina.

It will be seen that the Chinese accounts are not absolutely clear as to direction; but, generally speaking, in modern China, "left" means "east," and "back" or "behind" means "north." For further particulars I refer Rev. J. D. Bate to the three European publications I have cited. The original information from the Chinese histories I have translated in full.

As to the origin of the Black Stone, it will be remembered that Heliogabalus (El Gabel, or Elagabal) brought one to Rome from Emesa, to which place it was returned by Alexander Severus. This stone seems to have been bandied about between Palmyra, Emesa, and Bostra (birthplace of the Emperor Philip, himself an Arab).

## MISSION HYMNOLOGY IN THE BANTU LANGUAGES.

BY A. WERNER.

THE influence of the hymn in religious movements is one of the commonplaces of history. It is quite superfluous to refer, in this connection, to Luther and the Wesleys, and probably everyone knows that, when a new mission is established, one of the most pressing wants is a hymn-book in the native language. But of the contents of such hymn-books, or of the way in which they are put together, few people, we imagine, beyond those directly engaged in the work, know anything. And yet it is a subject of considerable interest.

Most missionary hymnals which have come before us have something distinctly artificial and exotic about them—exotic, of course, from the point of view of the nation in whose language the hymns are written. This is, perhaps, inevitable under the circumstances. The ideally desirable thing would be for native congregations to evolve their own hymns and tunes. But this would, in most cases, be a work of time; and in the meanwhile the usual process is to import the tunes ready-made, and fit them with native words which may or may not be a more or less free translation of the words of the original hymn.

We must, of course, distinguish. Some missions are at work among people who have a written language and a literature of their own—their own characteristic musical notation, metrical system, and national melodies. In these days, we may suppose, nothing but the narrowest and most ill-informed zeal would object to the people's expressing their newly-acquired religious ideas in the way most natural to them; just as we should never expect them to disuse their native language in favour of English, French, or German, according to the nationality of their teachers. But as some of the early disciples, when preaching the Gospel,

attempted to inculcate Judaism, so it cannot be denied that plenty of estimable and well-meaning people would, if they could, spread over the world, under the name of Christianity, the habits and ideas of British middle-class Philistinism, and cannot conceive of any congregation singing praises decently and in order unless out of the particular book they may happen to patronize. In many parts of Africa, in the Pacific islands, and elsewhere, the missionary has to do with a language previously unwritten. And here we must still further narrow the field of our remarks, confining ourselves to those languages with which (and with the literature which they owe to the agency of missions) we have some sort of personal acquaintance, viz., what, for convenience' sake, we may continue to call the "Bantu" tongues of Africa.

The reader will scarcely need to be reminded of the late Dr. Bleek's discovery that the languages of South and Central Africa are (with the exception of the Hottentot and Bushman tongues) closely interrelated, forming a single, homogeneous family to which he gave the name above referred to. "Bantu," as is well known, is one form of the word for "people" common to all of them. Strictly speaking, *ba-* is the prefix, the root of the word being *ntu* (in Zulu, e.g., the singular is *omu-ntu*, the plural *aba-ntu*), but we may be permitted to doubt whether the general public could ever be induced to talk about the "Ntu languages." None of the proposed substitutes will quite fit, and so, with Sir H. H. Johnston,\* "we return to Bantu as the only satisfactory designation of this class of languages, and of the tolerably homogeneous races who speak them," fortified, moreover, by a remark of Darwin's: "The term [Natural Selection] has now been used so largely abroad and at home, that I doubt whether it could be given up, and, with all its faults, I should be sorry to see the attempt made. . . . As in time the term must grow intelligible, the objections to its use will grow weaker and weaker."†

\* "The Kilimanjaro Expedition," p. 489.

† Letter to A. R. Wallace, "Life and Letters," vol. iii, p. 46.

To make our subsequent references to the hymns more intelligible, it will be necessary to say a few words respecting the mode of writing the Bantu languages, and here we are confronted with another difficulty; for, in spite of Professor Lepsius, and his Standard Alphabet, their orthography is anything but uniform. Matters might be worse, however. We are, at any rate, able to recognise that, for the phonetic rendering of a language, our English system of spelling is about the most difficult and cumbrous that could be devised. We are past the days when men wrote "Zooloo," "Dingarn," "Owhyhee," and the like; and the vowels in most, if not all, cases have the "Continental" values given them—*a* = *a* in father, *e* = *a* in *fate*, and so on. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Moffat, the pioneer of Bantu linguistics, was a Scotchman, who could give *a* its broad sound without needing to be advised thereof by an added *r* or *h*. As regards the consonants, practice varies. As a rule, our alphabet is sufficient, if each letter is kept strictly to its own work, and the superfluous ones eliminated. In Zulu, the otherwise useless *c*, *g*, and *x* come in handy for the three clicks. In Yao and Mang'anja, *h* is not wanted; it does not exist in the language, and the people find some difficulty in pronouncing it when introduced to them. As a rule, they turn it into *f* or *s*; and, like ourselves, when once it is mastered, are apt to use it in the wrong place, saying, perhaps, Haturday for Saturday. *r* and *l* are interchangeable in Mang'anja, and also in Yao, so that, in the grammar of the latter language, one letter economically does duty for the two. It seems a pity that we should have no single character to express the hard sound of *j*, which is variously written *ts~~h~~*, *ch*, *č*, *c*, and perhaps otherwise. *Ch* is written by the Blantyre Livingstonia, and Universities' Missions, *ts~~h~~* (officially) by the B.C.A. Administration (Tshiromo, Tshinde, etc.), and *c* by Mr. W. G. Anderson in his grammar of the Sena language, spoken on the Shire, which is really the same as Mang'anja, though Mr. Anderson does not think so. Thus,



the word for "a thing" would, according to these three systems, be written *chintu*, *tshintu*, and *cintu*. The cognate sound represented by *sh* is sometimes written *š* (Lepsius) or *x*, which has this force in Portuguese, and is so used by Mr. Anderson. Another sound which requires its own character is the "ringing *ng*" (in "sing," as distinguished from *ng* in "finger"), written either *ng'* or *ñ*. The penultimate accent is universal, so much so that the addition of an enclitic syllable usually displaces it, *e.g.*, *nyumba*, a house (Mang'anja)—*nyumbáyo* = *this house*. Yet the accent of a word is sometimes shifted by individual speakers, either erroneously or in accordance with some tacitly-accepted law of emphasis, allowing a certain measure of variation to suit the stress of the sentence.

Bearing the above rules in mind, most persons will find it perfectly easy to read aloud, with correct accent and pronunciation, the following specimens of the Mang'anja and Yao languages. The first is a sentence or two taken at random from the First Mang'anja Reading Book in use at Blantyre School:

"Mulúngu a-da-íka Adámu ndi Háva m'múnda wa bwíno: mu-  
*God placed Adam and Eve in (a) garden of good: in (it)*  
 ná-li míténgo ndi malúa ndi zipátso zonse zo-díbwá. Kóma  
*there were trees and flowers and fruits all to-be-eaten. But*  
 Mulúngu a-da-kániza iwo mténgo umódzi wóka."  
*God refused them tree one only.*

In Yao, which, though entirely distinct—as much so as English is from Danish—has much the same general character as Mang'anja, the opening sentences of the Ten Commandments (Exod. xx. 1-3) run thus:

"Mulungu awelechete malowe agaga nekuti; Une ndili Yahuwa Mulungu wenu . . . Mkosomkola milungu jine nambo uneji."

A very slight acquaintance with either of these languages is sufficient to show that monosyllables rarely occur, and, when they do, hardly ever bear the stress of the voice. As, moreover, the final syllable of a word is never accented, except through accidental elision of a vowel, it will be evident that "double endings" are the rule, and that the

language cannot, without violence, accommodate itself to any metre where the line ends in an accented syllable. In English, owing to the scarcity of double rhymes, single endings predominate, hymns with double endings throughout—such a metre, for instance, as Sir Walter Scott's "Coronach":

"He is gone on the mountain,  
He is lost to the forest"

—being exceedingly rare. Our Common Metre, Long and Short Metres, and, in fact, all our best-known tunes and measures, could not, unless to some extent modified, be adapted to native words. The late Bishop Colenso (to whose Zulu work we shall have occasion to refer later on) pronounced all iambic metres unsuitable; but this (owing to linguistic differences lying beyond the scope of this paper) does not hold good for Mang'anja in the same degree as it does for Zulu.

Before inquiring how far these principles have been kept in view in the hymnals actually compiled by missionaries, let us inquire whether there exists such a thing as a native system of prosody, or, if not, what is the foundation on which one could be raised?

All Africans possess a musical ear, and—what is not quite the same thing—a strong, but only rudely-developed, sense of rhythm. The latter comes out in the complicated evolutions of their dances—in some of which large numbers of people take part; in the drums which are beaten for dances, to a variety of measures (a very common one might be marked thus  $\infty \infty \perp \perp$ ), the hand-clapping which keeps exact time with the dance or the singer's voice; the measured beat of the pestles, when the women are pounding corn; the singing of the canoe-men to the beat of their paddles. In all these cases, the singing is not rhythmic in itself, but has some sort of measure imposed on it by the regular beat of the instrument or action keeping time. In fact, among these primitive peoples, singing is never found apart from dancing or action of some sort, music, poetry and the

dance being, to use the language of sociologists, as yet undifferentiated arts, and dancing, the earliest developed, embracing the rudiments of the others. Among the Yaos, the itinerant musician who chants his improvisations to the sound of the *chimwenyi-mwenyi*, or one-stringed fiddle, is known as the "dancing-man."

Native songs are delivered in a kind of recitative, and are without any nearer approach to versification than a rude division into lines, sometimes marked by a recurring refrain or chorus, such as *wo ya yo, e! e! e! e!* or the like. They are as often as not mere improvisations, forgotten almost as soon as composed (though, even of these, some "catch on," and so vindicate their fitness to survive). But some appear to have been handed down for several generations, and these usually present difficulties to the translator, even if tolerably familiar with the language, containing archaic words which have dropped out of use in common speech. One also finds in them unusual, inverted and elliptical constructions, of which it is not easy to see the reason, unless they are adopted in order to conform to some law of rhythm—or of poetic fitness—unknown to us; for even in these lispings of the Muse it seems to be the rule that things are said in songs which would not be said in everyday conversation. Another reason for obscurity is the frequency (as in the old *izibongo* of the Zulu kings) of allusions intelligible only to the older members of the tribe, or even of the family, which has preserved them.

Not to digress too far into a fascinating subject, I will here quote one or two songs taken down from the recitation of Mang'anja children, in the West Shire district. If it should be remarked that there is very little of them, it must be remembered that, when sung, they are repeated indefinitely.

"Mwamnanga (u) dzi enda,  
U la dza mpeza kobwe;  
Mwamnanganso (u) dzi enda  
U la dza mpeza kobwe."

This is one of the simplest—and, even so, one can only make sense of it—supposing it to be correct as it stands—by supplying an elided *u* as indicated. This puts all the other particles into their right places at once, otherwise the *u* and *la* in the second line would—for grammatical reasons which we cannot enter into here—constitute a serious difficulty. It appears to mean, “My husband! you are going to look for (or fetch) beans (*kobwe*, a name for one among many kinds of beans)—my husband! again you are going to look for beans!”

The following, though easy enough as far as the words go, is not very intelligible, but appears to have a reference to current events:

“A-Mandala wo tawa mbendera—\*

A-Gomani wo fera ku dambo.”

“Mandala, who ran away from the flag—

Gomani who died on the *dambo*” (plain, grass-land).

Mandala and Gomani (Chekusi, or Chedantumba, the Angoni chief executed by the B.C.A. Administration in 1896) were brothers, and sometimes at war with one another, but Gomani was certainly living when this song was dictated to me. Neither of these two has the refrain, so I give a very short example with it, frankly confessing that I fail to make sense of it. It was recognised at Blantyre as “an Angoni song,” so that, at any rate, it may be supposed to be genuine, and not an invention of the small boy who dictated it.

“Mbalame ya ku nyanja—

Yo komanga (?) ngati kapeta—

Nsomba ine—wi!—a!—o!—o!—o!—o!”

“A bird of the river” is the only intelligible part of the above, though the conclusion, “I am a fish,” may possibly have some meaning in connection with it.

All these songs have their own airs, which, utterly unmusical as, no doubt, they seem at first to a cultivated ear, have a charm of their own. The Yao and Mang'anja

\* Portuguese *bandeira*.

melodies offer an almost unworked field to any student of music who could take them down from the lips of native singers. I have heard some of them reproduced (by ear only) by a European ; but no one has as yet devoted the same attention to them which M. Henri Junod has to the songs of the Baronga of Delagoa Bay. In his work "*Chants et Contes des Baronga*" (Lausanne, 1898) will be found a most interesting study of native music, and a large number of airs, written down in our notation. For our present purpose, it is sufficient to note that M. Junod has found the native musical scale to be the same as our own, though somewhat limited in compass, the ten notes of the *timbila* (*marimba*, or "Kafir piano") being as follows :\*



He is inclined to think that an octave and two notes represents the normal compass of the human voice among primitive peoples. Of all the airs collected by him not one passes these limits. Another peculiarity of these airs is that, beginning on a high note, they invariably descend ; and this imparts to them the peculiarly plaintive character usually (but, I believe, erroneously) attributed to their being in the minor key.

These things being so, the musical training of the native is no difficult matter. I have often envied the facility with which children who could neither read nor write, who, perhaps, had scarcely so much as seen a book, would pick up a hymn tune almost on the first hearing. Most missionaries would agree that, given a teacher of fair musical attainments, and a tolerable instrument, the training of a choir is about the easiest part of their work. Then, of course, the question arises of providing them with hymns to sing.

\* These notes are not always perfectly true, which, considering the rough construction of this primitive instrument, is scarcely to be wondered at.

I take up from a pile of little books before me "Nyimbo za Mulungu za m' chimang'anja ndi m' chiyao,"\* printed at the Blantyre Mission Press in 1891. It contains 137 hymns—Mang'anja and Yao in about equal proportions—nearly all of which, as a glance at the index shows, are translations, even those (four in number) composed by natives. Not only so, but the translations invariably preserve the metre and the tune of the originals. These originals come from the most heterogeneous sources, "Hymns Ancient and Modern" and "Sacred Songs and Solos" alike contributing their quota. Glancing over the first few pages, we find in close juxtaposition the Old Hundredth, "Let us with a gladsome mind," Newman's "Praise to the Holiest in the height," "Lo! He comes with clouds descending," "Hold the fort," and *Dies Irae*. In some cases the name of the tune to which the hymn is intended to be sung is printed after the title; in others it is implied in the latter, or taken for granted, as being familiar to all, "Hold the fort," for instance, and similar ones, being utterly unknown apart from the tunes to which they are inseparably wedded. Turning over the page, we come upon "St. Cuthbert," "Moravia," "Bollinger," "Moscow," "Martyrdom," "Ewing," "Rousseau's Dream," and other more or less well-known items. As a rule, the trochaic metres make the most successful hymns, especially if the second and fourth, as well as the first and third, lines have the double ending. But it will simplify matters to give a few specimens, premising that, beset by so many and great difficulties, the translators, while preserving the metre, have in many cases thought it best to let the rhyme slide. That they have done wisely is proved by other cases where the rhyme has been achieved, at the cost of more important matters, and sometimes with grotesque results. As for

\* It is only fair to add that this was, to a certain extent, a tentative work, and that a revised and enlarged edition—from which some of the more crude and imperfect compositions have disappeared—has since been issued. But I believe the principle of translation is still adhered to.

the scansion, something may be done with elisions, as in M'lungu for Mulungu, or where two vowels come together. It is a convenience for the sorely-tried versifier that the language does not abhor a hiatus; in fact, according to Dr. Henry, it rather likes it, so that you need not cut out one of your vowels unless the line has a syllable too many. Our first specimen is taken from the *Dies Iræ*, which, as will be evident, offers exceptional facilities to the translator :

“ Ku to | fika | ku we | ruza  
 Mlungu | a ti | zungu | liza  
 Ife | pache, | ngati | mbusa.  
 \*        \*        \*        \*

“ A to | uka, | uka, | uka,  
 Ah! an | gati | a chu | ruka!  
 Ku we | ruzwa | a to | muka.”

Here the accent in every instance falls correctly. It will be observed that these six lines contain hiatuses enough to entail a total loss of marks in Latin verse composition; but here it does not matter, and I have frequently noticed the clear and leisurely enunciation of the two vowels in the speech of natives. Elision is much more frequent in Zulu; and I have noticed it in the tales taken down from the recitation of Mang'anja-speaking children in the West Shire district. In fact, were it not for Dr. Henry's positive dictum, I should be half inclined to wonder whether the natives who sounded their two vowels so clearly were not speaking slowly and carefully for the benefit of benighted Europeans. Probably the elision, like the shifting of the enclitic accent, depends a good deal on circumstances. As for the sense of the stanzas above quoted, it does not appear to have suffered to any violent extent, though the first of them is a little difficult to construe—for an outsider. The sum of it seems to amount to this: “At the coming of the Judgment, God, like a shepherd (*mbusa*) will enclose us in a place by ourselves.” The other we may take more literally: “They rise, rise, rise. Ah! how many are there in crowds! (*ku churuka* = to be many, to abound). They are going to be judged.”

From this it will be seen that “translation” is in these

cases a very relative term. It is not only that to preserve both metre and sense is too large an order for the average person, but that the missionary who attempts the task finds himself confronted at the outset by a ready-made technical phraseology, a set of theological and other notions, the growth of centuries of culture—current coin to us, but presupposing much which is entirely unknown to the native mind. If he does not set about the work in an utterly soulless and mechanical fashion, he must grapple with the question of what he really means by these technicalities, which he has been glibly using all his life. He must reduce them to their very simplest terms, or, failing that, substitute something else—something intelligible on broadly human grounds, something which appeals alike to people trained in any theology or in none. And, whether the immediate work in hand be a success or not, this process is of inestimable value to the missionary himself. It is akin to what O. W. Holmes calls *depolarization*.

As a flagrant example of what should be avoided, we might take the first verse and chorus of the well-known "Take me as I am"—a catchy tune, which has achieved extensive popularity :

"Yestí, | kwa í | we ndí | pfulá  
 Wo pá | nda í | we ndí | dzafá  
 U ndí | patsá | mpulú | mutsá  
             Komá | u ndí | tengá.  
 U lán | dirá | iné  
     Ni zó | ipá | zangá  
 Ndirí | be má | nenó | ená  
     Komá | ù ndí | tengá."

Within certain limits, of course, a displaced accent, or an unwonted stress on a usually inconspicuous syllable, not only comes within the limits of acknowledged poetical license, but, rightly used, adds to the beauty of a line. There is no need to quote examples, which will readily occur to the reader ; but the license of our hymn-writers is not akin to the "ladýe," "daughtér," "meiníe" of the old ballads and their imitators, or Shakespeare's "charácter'd," "sepúlchre," or Milton's "aspèct," "impùlse," "triúmph-



ing," which only add to the stateliness of his verse. It results in a grotesque travesty of the language.\*

The beautiful tune of "Ewing," deservedly a favourite at home, goes to one of the best of the Mang'anja hymns. The difficulties of the iambic metre have not been quite successfully surmounted; still, it goes to show that, if only the rule about double endings be observed, one could, with a little trouble, produce very decent Mang'anja iambics. As it gives a good idea of the sound of that melodious language (inferior, however, according to some competent observers, in this respect to Yao), and also illustrates the remarks previously made on the simplification of imagery, etc., I quote the first and last of its four stanzas. It will be seen that it has travelled a considerable distance from St. Bernard's original; but even so, I would not venture to guarantee all the metaphors being understood by a native without further explanation:

"Mu Mpala ya Mulungu mu li mo yera mu,  
Ndiyo amatu, yomwe yo lera ife tu;  
Mitima yatu yonse i kondwerera ni  
Ku kala nayo mpala ya ku kongola i.

\* \* \* \*

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\* This has been well put by Bishop Colenso: "The regular fall of the accent on the penultimate makes the ordinary long, common, and short metres of English psalmody utterly unsuitable for Zulu hymns. These tunes should on no account be used for this purpose. The practice of so doing arises from want of due consideration, or else from mere want of taste. Missionaries too often compel the natives to offend against all the laws of accentuation, and force the rhythm of their own words, not once or twice, but constantly, in singing, in order to accommodate our favourite tunes. Let any Englishman attempt to sing the line 'O'er the gloomy hills of darkness,' to any L. M. or C. M. tune, and he will soon be convinced of the frightful effect which the singing of words to such tunes must have upon the ear of the natives, until, by degrees, the taste becomes wholly perverted. But for prose hymns, suited for chanting, like the Psalms, or for *metrical* hymns without rhyme, the Zulu language is very well adapted. The metre, however, will require to be trochaic in its character" ("First Steps in Zulu," p. 9). The last sentence does not altogether hold good for Mang'anja and Yao. The argument that "the natives like" such tunes is nothing to the point. The line above quoted, scanned as an anapæst and set to a lively, catchy tune, might conceivably become popular. But what would that mean?

"Ndi nkondo i to leka kwa Mlungu konkuja ;  
Ndi ukapolo wa ta, udano wa choka ;  
Ndi za ku opsyia zonse ndi zo sauka bi !  
Ndi mwai wa ku Mlungu u dzoza mitu pi !"

Translated as literally as may be, this is :

"In the City of God (*mpala*, the chief's village, the Great Kraal, is the nearest approach to a city known to these tribes) there is light therein, and she is our mother who nurses us all. Our hearts rejoice with dwelling in that city, that beautiful one. . . .

"And war ceases there, at (the dwelling-place of) God (*kwa* corresponds more nearly to the French *chez* than to anything in English) ; and slavery is over ; hatred has departed ; and all frightful (things) and grievous (things) are not, and the blessedness of God anoints all heads."

This hymn shows very strikingly the difficulties of the monosyllabic ending. Here every line (the lines being double) requires it, and it has been obtained in a variety of more or less legitimate ways. Mang'anja has a variety of small particles which come in as handy to the verse-writer as  $\mu\epsilon\nu$  and  $\delta\epsilon$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon$  and  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ , to the undergraduate in his Greek prose. Some of these are enclitic demonstratives, like the *yo* in *nyumbayo* already referred to, which, as has been explained, shift the accent of the word to which they are added, and are therefore, as a rule, inadmissible at the end of a line, though this rule is not invariable. Then there are what may be called the prepositional enclitics—*mo*, *ko*, *po*, answering to the prepositions *mu* (in), *ku* (at, to), *pa* (at, upon), and used thus: M'nyumba *mo*=in the house ; *ku mudzi ko*=at the village. We have also a large number of interjectional particles, which have a kind of vague adjectival or adverbial force, and often cannot be exactly translated. In the closing lines of our quotation, "*bi*" is a negative particle, "*pi*" expresses the action of anointing. These are independent words, and may quite legitimately have the accent thrown on them ; but, naturally, it is a device which ought not to be employed to excess. Then there are such particles as *tu* (see the second line of the above hymn), of which all one can say with certainty is that they are used for emphasis. In the next line, we find the preposition *ni*="with" or "and,"

made to bear an unwonted and awkward stress of the voice by being thrust into the post of danger. Similar things, no doubt, have been done by the masters, who knew when and how to try risky experiments; but memory fails to recall a single felicitous instance of the use of "and" as an accented rhyming syllable. *i*, at the end of the last line, is the demonstrative particle of the third class, whose concord is *ya*; it belongs properly to *mpala*, but is dragged in rather awkwardly at the end of the participial form—"ya ku kongola" ("beautiful"; lit., "of being beautiful").

The most successful hymns in this book are those which approximate more or less to the chant form, as the versions of "Adeste fideles," and an original hymn by the late Dr. W. A. Scott, sung to Troyte's Chant, which was a great favourite, to judge by the frequency with which one heard boys singing snatches from it. We may quote one verse, as a further and still better proof that the iambic metre is not necessarily contrary to the spirit of the language. The dactyl and anapæst, by-the-by, seem, outside certain rather narrow limits, to be quite inadmissible. Yet even here the poet owes much to the particle, demonstrative or interjectional:

" Mitambo inu ya kumwamba ko,  
Yo gunda mvula m'lenga lenga mo,  
Mau akula a nenera po  
Halleluyah!"

"Ye clouds on high, who thunder (for) rain in the heavens, and speak with a great voice, Hallelujah!"

Of course, the best and most natural course would be for native hymns to be written by natives. This is already done to a certain extent, and the practice is increasing, but is spoilt by the assumption that they must use our musical and metrical forms. "Of course," said a lady missionary, "they must supply the language, but they must get their idea of poetry, the rhymes and metre, from us." One fails to see the "of course," as far as the "poetry" is concerned. It is instructive in this connection to glance back

at the beginnings of mediæval Europe, a glance which might easily be elaborated into a treatise. The early German and English monks wrote in Latin for the use of the cloister, but the singers among them, with a message to their people, uttered it, as they did their sermons, in their own mother tongue. And what is more to our present purpose, Cædmon and Otfried, and the unnamed Saxon monk who wrote the "Heliand," did not attempt sapphics or elegiacs, but poured their thoughts into the rude alliterative couplets of their national "makers." And the Teutonic speech so far conquered its conquerors that the Latin hymns which have come down to us among the most precious devotional treasures of the Middle Ages are not composed in the classic measures, but in rhymed verse, measured by beat or accent rather than quantity. The verse, of course, was very different from

"Tho uuarun thar in lante  
hirta haltente;  
thes fehes datun uuarta  
uuidar fianta," etc.,\*

but it is developed from it under Southern civilizing influences. The parallel would not be difficult to make out.

Of the hymns written by natives included in the first edition of the Blantyre hymn-book, only one (94) is in Mang'anja—"Blest are the pure in heart," to the tune of "Swabia." The translator, Thomas Mpeni, son of the old Makololo chief Masea, has not succeeded in adhering to the somewhat difficult measure without considerable violence to his accents; but his lines are, at any rate, clear and idiomatic. Joseph Bismark, formerly a teacher at Domasi, has contributed (86) a Yao version of "Forward be our watchword," which is to a great extent free from the above objections; but the frequent particles at the end of alternate lines make one wish he had used double endings, which might perhaps have been accomplished without necessitating an alteration in the tune. As I have not quoted any Yao

\* Krist., i. 12.

hymns, I give a couple of verses, not of this hymn, but of No. 127—an evening hymn set to a native tune. It is said not to have been a success, and I never heard it in church; but I once got a boy to sing it to me—a curious, droning chant, very unlike our idea of music, but weirdly effective in its way :

1. "Mulungu | wétu, || Mulungu | wétu,  
Lelo | lino || lipi | téje.
2. "Tukwiti | chísyá, || tukwiti | chísyá  
Yose | yétu || yaku | lémwa."

I have divided it, as well as I can, into feet, indicating where the principal accents in each line were placed.

Another step in the right direction is to be found in the recently-published "*Swahili Mission Hymn-book*,"\* for which the C.M.S. missionaries are responsible. No. 7 ("When the Saviour dwelt below") is indicated as sung either to a "Native Air or L.M." In the absence of the notes, one can offer no opinion on the native air; but considered as a long-metre hymn the verse seems on a level with most of that previously quoted :

"Aliposhuka Mwokozi  
Hurumaze na mbawazi  
Zilikitawala wazi  
Kifua chakwe, k' wambie !"

For the rest, the titles of the hymns, with their appended italics—"A. and M. 330, or S. S. and S. 517"; "S. S. and S. 742, or Carol Tune"—tell their own story. The Rev. J. E. Beverley's "*Ki-Gogo Hymn-book*" proceeds on much the same lines, though nothing is said about tunes, beyond a cryptic reference—"B. 226," or "S. 128," at the top of each hymn—presumably understood of the initiated. This gentleman, or one of his pupils, has even ventured on "Lead, kindly Light"; but, being insufficiently acquainted with Ki-Gogo, the present writer does not presume to judge as to the success of the undertaking. On the next page comes "Once in royal David's city"—which at first sight

\* "Nyimbo za Mwokosi wetu Aliye Pweke, Jesu Masihi." S.P.C.K., 1897.

seems to have departed from the original measure, and actually to scan, or come very near doing so—in iambics. But, alas ! I fear it is meant to read :

“ Mú ka | yá ya | Dá(wu)di | kúko  
Mwíti | ng' há lye | zín'g' om | bé. . . ”

which is very much as if we were to sing :

“ Thére is | á green | híll far | áway.”

We come nearer the right track in the little book (“ Amagama Okuhlabelela ”) published by the American Zulu Mission in Natal, and now in its ninth edition. The preface opens with the suggestive sentence : “ This seventh edition . . . is accompanied *for the first time* by tunes adapted to Zulu rhythm.” The date of the seventh edition (which has, apparently, been twice reprinted without alteration ; or perhaps the seventh edition of the tunes corresponds with the ninth of the words) is not given ; that of the ninth is 1894. But the mission has been established over sixty years.

As far as the versification is concerned, this book is an immense improvement on those previously noticed. There is a great variety of metres among the 263 hymns, but nowhere do we find such monstrosities as some of the specimens quoted above. It may be doubted whether the Zulu idiom and construction are always beyond criticism—of that I do not feel competent to judge ; but to have got the accents right is an achievement on which the authors have some reason to congratulate themselves. This, for instance (“ Heavenly Home ”), read as trochaic six-syllable lines, leaves nothing to be desired :

“ Zulu, kaya lami !  
Utandeka kimi ;  
Zulu, kaya lami  
U kunjulwa imi. . . ”

The only thing which has struck me unpleasantly in this respect is in Hymn 70, where the possessives *wami*, *lami*, etc., have the final vowel omitted for the sake of a monosyllabic rhyme ; and I find that good authorities are

against this, though the *i* might be elided in rapid conversation before another vowel. "Ecaleni lam'; nga ngilahlekile" certainly cannot be justified in this way.

The most satisfactory solution of the difficulty lies, as we have already said, in the advent of the native poet and musician. But his evolution may be a lengthy process—as long as the years which lie between Beowulf and Chaucer. All that we have yet learned regarding the possibilities of African languages and African character seems to suggest that the continent will not be Europeanized, but conquer its conquerors, as Hellaß did Rome; or perhaps the assimilation of Latin culture by the Teutonic peoples would be a closer parallel. But avoiding speculation, the Bantu poet is not yet with us, or only in a very rudimentary form. I cannot, however, conclude without adverting to the most successful worker in a little-known field. The name of Bishop Colenso is well known to the British public, but not many are aware of what the Zulu language owes to him. His Dictionary (now, I believe, being reprinted) has never been superseded, his Zulu school-books are in use throughout the colony, and his hymns have become *volkstümlich* in the true sense of the word—a word for which there is no adequate English equivalent.

A worthy estimate of this part of his work it is here, of course, impossible to give; but his sympathetic appreciation of the spirit of the language seemed, if we may so put it, to go beyond his actual knowledge of it, extensive as that was. Colonists will tell you that no one can speak Zulu really well who has not learnt it as a child; but the Bishop, coming to the country at the age of thirty-seven, and with no previous book-knowledge of longer date than a few months, grasped the genius of the tongue in a way which would have made it impossible for him, even as a learner, to perpetrate any such absurdities as the long, short, and peculiar metres we have been discussing. The little collection of forty-six hymns published with the Zulu Prayer-Book, and sung Sunday after Sunday by the

natives belonging to the *Ibandhla las' England*, ought to be diligently studied by all workers in this department. Some of the hymns are free paraphrases of English originals, as "Vuka we! nhliziyo yami!" (1), of "Awake, my soul, and with the sun"; and "Kristo, ukukazimula kwako," of "Christ, whose glory fills the skies"; others are entirely original. Such are the universal favourite, "Bafo wetu" (27), which, moreover, is partly of genuine native origin, the gist of it being written down in prose (which the Bishop versified and set to music) by William Ngidi, known to fame as the Intelligent Zulu; and (14) "Ubusuku obumnyama bumukile,"\* a morning hymn in a metre somewhat resembling the sapphic—an excellent precedent. The dactyls have been eliminated, and the last line lengthened to five trochees. All the hymns enjoy the advantage of being set to music by the author, so that the tunes cause no such difficulties as we have been dwelling on. When discussing hymns, the questions of versification and music are so intertwined that, though this article does not profess to deal with the latter subject, I have been forced to refer to it now and again. It is sufficient to say here, with regard to "Sobantu's" melodies, that, judging by the heartiness with which they are sung (and well sung, too, considering disadvantages in the way of choir-training, instruments, etc.) by native congregations, they must be pronounced an unqualified success.

\* "Black night has passed away."



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

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AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Friday, May 5, an address on "Siam and Her Neighbours" was delivered by the Hon. John Barrett, late United States Minister to Siam, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presided, and those present included: The Rt. Hon. Lord Reay; Lady Griffin; Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I.; Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; Sir George Parker; Sir William Rattigan, Q.C.; Major-General James Emmerson; Colonel Congdon; Colonel J. Davidson; Colonel C. H. T. Marshall; Lieut.-Colonel Champernowne, R.E.; Commander Hugh Cotesworth; Rev. and Mrs. Freeman King; Mr. A. Abbot; Mrs. and Misses Arathoon; Mr. A. Barnard; Miss Mabel Body, M.R.A.S.; Mr. Bussy; Miss J. Cole; Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. T. J. Desai; Mr. A. K. Donald; Mr. H. D. Egville; Miss Gawthrop; Mrs. Glass; Mr. Gongez; Mr. C. Olynthus Gregory; Mr. H. B. Jodhi; Mr. E. Harriot; Mr. E. Hislop; Mr. A. L. Lawrence; Mr. B. Langford Lewis; Mr. J. Louis; Mr. W. Mason; Mr. C. G. Master; Mr. J. Parkinson; Mr. J. B. Pennington; Mr. Gaston F. Perrier; Mr. Lesley C. Probyn; Mr. W. A. F. Abdur Rahman; Mr. Alexander Rogers; Mr. C. H. Setalvad; Mr. Victor Scheyven; Mr. B. Leigh Smith; Mr. F. H. Syked; Mr. R. B. Swinton; Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN: Before introducing the lecturer of this afternoon to you I desire to make one or two observations. The first point is this: Seeing Lord Reay, who is the president of this Association, is here this afternoon, I ought in common justice and humility to cede the seat of chairman to him. I represent, as Sir John Gorst does in the House of Commons, the position which that gentleman occupies with regard to the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Reay ought really to take the chair this afternoon. He will, however, I dare say, excuse me. The other observation I wish to make is this. We are, in this lecture, going a little beyond the bounds which are ordinarily prescribed for lectures of this association. But I trust no one will think this an inconvenient thing to do. India is now getting so inextricably mixed up with all the neighbouring countries that I think an association which concerns itself immediately with the interests of India should try also to associate itself with lectures on those countries which are immediately adjoining our Indian Dominion. Now, gentlemen, I would introduce you to the Hon. John Barrett, who has been for some years the United States Minister in Siam, and who has there done excellent work for his own Government, and has always maintained the most cordial relations with Englishmen in that country. You can have no more authoritative speaker on questions relating to Siam, which all Englishmen who study the subject know is now one of the most important questions of the day. Mr. Barrett has at my request come to-day to address you at considerable inconvenience I think to himself, because he was pre-engaged to

the Chamber of Commerce in London when I met him first. We owe him our best thanks for his kindness in addressing us this afternoon.

MR. BARRETT: Mr. Chairman, my Lords, members of the East India Association, ladies and gentlemen,—In the great honour which has been conferred upon me by the chairman of this meeting and by other members in asking me to speak before you, I appreciate that I am speaking before men, and possibly women, who have made a study of this great question which affects the prosperity and welfare of the British Empire in Asia. The present position and future possibilities of that Empire are so grand and so fascinating that when I, in my humble way, attempt to tell of it in any form, I feel my own limitation. If I should not treat of the subject before us as exhaustively as some of you expect, I trust that you will extend to me that generosity of judgment which you in the great extent of your knowledge are able to give. Before entering into the full discussion of my subject, I may say that I owe you an apology, because an unfortunate accident has happened to-day: I am not able to read you a paper because I tore up my paper. As you know, I have been honoured by requests from several other bodies to speak before them. I had the several manuscripts on my table, and knowing those which had already been used were useless, I took them up and tore them into pieces, thinking I had no more use for them. About an hour before I was to start I discovered that I had torn up my manuscript which I intended to read here. If I had not spent four years in Siam I might be at a little loss to consider the subject, but having spent that length of time there I think it would hardly be creditable to me if I did not endeavour to interest you for three-quarters of an hour (cheers). I feel as I stand here very much in the same position as a little negro boy in South America. This little negro boy was attending the Sabbath school, and his teacher was trying to impress upon him the omnipresence of the evil spirit. She looked down at her pupil and said, "Sambo, do you realize that the devil is everywhere?" Sambo's great big white eyes rolled up from his face, and he said, "Am dat true, missus; am de debble eberywhere?" The teacher replied, "Yes, my boy, the devil is everywhere." Then the boy asked, "Am de debble in dis 'ere room?" "Yes, my boy, the devil is in this room." Again the boy asked, "Am de debble on dis 'ere bench?" "Yes, Sambo, he is on the very bench there with you." "Am de debble in my clothes?" "Yes, Sambo, the devil is in your clothes." Well, the situation was getting desperate, so with a light in his eye he looked up to his teacher and said, "Am de debble in my pocket?" "Yes, Sambo," she replied, "the devil is in your very pocket." Then the little fellow looked up and said, "Well, I guess I got you dis time, missus, cos I ain't got no pocket" (laughter). I feel a good deal in that position to-day. But at the same time, considering the interest of our subject, possibly the few notes that I have will suffice. (See Mr. Barrett's paper on page 76.)

LORD REAY: Sir Lepel, ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in proposing the vote of thanks to the lecturer. I think we have all had no reason to regret that the manuscript was lost. I believe there are many cases in which the loss of manuscripts would be hailed by the audience

with great delight. But this meeting has been exceedingly interesting, not only on account of what the distinguished gentleman who has addressed us has said, but also from the rather novel fact—on which I beg to compliment Sir Lepel and the council, because I had nothing to do with it—of one of our friends from the United States having been invited to discuss a matter of Asiatic policy. I believe it is a precedent, and in England we are very careful in establishing precedents, although when once they have been settled we delight in holding them up. All I can say is that I hope Mr. Barrett will send us often many of his countrymen, and will tell them that they will always find in this Association appreciative audiences. It is a very significant fact that in other countries diplomatists remain silent, and the public lose a great deal by their silence because I think they are often the repository of a great deal of knowledge at first hand, and in this respect I think we have every reason to be thankful that an American diplomatist should set so good an example by addressing us on a subject with which he is so closely connected. I have always taken the very greatest interest in Siamese affairs, because I have always held that the independence of Siam was a British interest of the first importance, and I am very pleased to hear from what Mr. Barrett has said, and that confirms the conclusion to which I had myself arrived, that in the person of the King of Siam we have a very good guarantee for the maintenance of that independence. One of his most distinguished officers is a Belgian gentleman, who was Home Secretary in Belgium, who occupied there a first-rate position, and I may say that in the selection of so distinguished a statesman the King of Siam gave evidence of his great insight. I think Mr. Barrett will confirm what I have said in that respect. Now Mr. Barrett has told us that the Siamese are indolent, and that undoubtedly, I suppose, applies to the traders and to the agriculturists. But there are certain exceptions, and I can show anyone here present on the shelves of the library of the Royal Asiatic Society a shelf containing volumes all written by one of the King's brothers, of a very interesting philological character, and also very interesting as regards Buddhism. I suppose Mr. Barrett will agree with me that in Siam the development of Buddhism is a matter which is fully worthy of the attention of those who study what is called comparative religion. Therefore we have in the higher classes of Siam certain instances of men who, though priests, devote themselves to the religious question, yet use their seclusion for the purpose of enriching literature and enabling us to get a further insight into a most important branch of knowledge. Then with regard to what Mr. Barrett has said about our responsibility for the real development in Siam, that is a most important subject. Anyone who has had to deal with the development of Burma knows how closely connected it will be with the extension of Burmese railways, both in the north-east of China and in the south, connecting them with Siam. We must all have heard with great pleasure what Mr. Barrett has told us about the result of the arrangement we came to with France. Leaving railways for one moment, I am very glad to hear that Mr. Barrett has called our attention to the colonial development of France, and I can confirm what he said. There is no doubt that at this moment in France questions con-

nected with colonial development are in a large degree taking up not so much the attention of the Government as of the French upper classes. I have heard lately that in the upper classes now the desire of rich young Frenchmen is to go out as colonists either to Cochin China or India. They have come to the conclusion that a Colonial Empire cannot be founded on Government influence alone. You cannot establish colonies on a firm foundation merely by sending out officials, and the French are beginning to understand that they must not only send out colonists, but men who will look after their own colony. I heard of one lately—an only son, who, notwithstanding the prayers of his mother, had determined to go out into one of the French colonies. Then again the French are publishing a number of books in which are explained what have been the causes of English success in the colonies. I only wish to say that, because I think the subject to which Mr. Barrett has called our attention is one which is exceedingly interesting. Before I sit down I must rather demur to what Sir Lepel has said in introducing Mr. Barrett—that our relations were the same as those which existed between two distinguished statesmen—one very outspoken and the other rather a mysterious figure on the political stage. Well, I am bound to say that I do not look upon Sir Lepel Griffin in that light at all, and that our relations are of a totally different nature. I hope that we shall long have Sir Lepel as our energetic and vigorous chairman of this Association, and that he will always be as successful as he has been to-day in providing us with so admirable a lecture by so distinguished a gentleman.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: My Lord, ladies and gentlemen—I would first express my entire concurrence with the remarks of Lord Reay as to the immense benefits which would often arise to the public from the fact of manuscripts being destroyed. Nothing could be more interesting and nothing could have given us more bright and new and vivid views of the condition of Siam to-day than the address of our distinguished lecturer, and I am sure that with me you will tender to him a most hearty vote of thanks for his having come before us. It is a great pleasure—as all Americans ought to have known for many years past, but which they only appear to have discovered very recently—it is a great pleasure for Englishmen to hear and receive with cordiality members of the great sister community on the other side of the Atlantic. By any English audience they will, I am quite certain, always receive a most appreciative welcome. I would like to make one or two remarks which have been suggested to me by the lecturer. The political situation he has, as a diplomatist belonging to another country than our own, judiciously avoided, and I will maintain the same discretion with regard to saying anything which might be offensive to any person present. But with reference both to what Lord Reay and the lecturer have said with regard to the present tendency in France as to colonial development, I still think, although agreeing with them almost entirely as to the tendency, I still think there is in the French and in the English tendencies almost diametrically different. So far as we have seen, the French have been content for a great many years past with sentimental and political success rather

than commercial success. They have worked and run their colonies in all parts of the world—perhaps we may except Senegal in West Africa—on almost entirely political lines, and they have gained no commercial advantage therefrom. From what Mr. Barrett has told us and what was known to some of us before of the trade of Bangkok, which we will say is the trade of Siam, 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. is under the English flag—done between the British colonies, the British ports of Singapore and Hong Kong. I do not know what the case may be now, but I remember a few years ago the only French trade with Bangkok was one steamer which used to run once a month between Bangkok and Saigon with about £8,000 worth of trade, which was half per cent. on the whole trade of Bangkok. There is only one steamer, Mr. Barrett says, now running, so that the trade of France with Bangkok is infinitesimal. With reference to the chances of France taking the northern province, abandoning for it Chantaboun, I am very sceptical. When the treaty between France and Siam in 1893 was concluded, Chantaboun was occupied until the provisions of that treaty were carried out. It was occupied on a pretext which was frivolous at the beginning. Although the conditions have been carried out, yet Chantaboun has been retained up to the present, and I believe the next hundred years will see Chantaboun in the hands still of France unless by that time France has had to evacuate all Asiatic possessions. However that may be, the interests of Great Britain are commercial. We only want free trade, and when we see the vast amount of commerce to-day under the British flag, as large in amount in Siam as in the Persian Gulf, say 80 per cent.—and it is really larger than that—if the English allow themselves to be ousted from this commanding, this predominant position, by rivals, it will only be due to supineness on the part not only of the English Government, which has strangely awoke to the reality of the needs in the East during the last few years, but to the supineness of English manufacturers and merchants. I do not believe that apathy caused a deterioration of the nation, and although there are many signs to-day that other nations like France to a small degree, Germany to a great degree, and the United States to a still larger degree than any, are prepared in friendly competition to strive with us for the supremacy of the world, yet I do not believe that England in the East will fall from the great position that she has up to to-day held. And I would only now ask you to express your thanks to our distinguished guest for the most interesting, and I may say fascinating, lecture which he has been pleased to deliver to us.

The vote of thanks was agreed to amid applause.

MR. BARRETT, in reply, said: I thank you very much for that hearty vote of thanks, and in doing so I desire to say that which I omitted to say in my earlier remarks, that one of the greatest pleasures to me here was to be on such home terms with an audience in London. I can almost say the same thing here that I said before the London Chamber of Commerce the other day, that I almost felt in commencing my address like saying, "Fellow countrymen," or using some such words as would imply my appreciation of your kindness. I do not forget the great compliment paid to me

by being allowed to speak before a gathering of so many representative Britishers.

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At a meeting held at the Westminster Town Hall on Monday, May 15, 1899, the Right Hon. the Earl of Elgin, K.G., V.C., G.M.S.I., presided, and there were present, amongst others: The Right Hon. Lord Reay; Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.; Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart.; Sir William Brooke, K.C.S.I.; Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., and Lady Griffin; Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.S.I.; Sir C. C. Stevens, K.C.S.I.; Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; Sir Henry Cunningham, K.C.I.E.; Sir George Parker; Sir William Rattigan, Q.C.; Mr. H. D. Moule, C.S.I.; Mr. F. Stoker, C.S.I.; Lieut.-General Lance, C.B.; Major-General James Emmerson; Major-General Roberts; Captain E. Murray-Cookesley; Surgeon-General Pemberton; Surgeon-General Penny, M.D.; Mrs. Andrews; Miss Arathoon; Mrs. Aublet; Mr. A. F. Abdul Rahman; Mr. Henry Bell; Mr. A. H. Campbell; Mr. W. Coldstream; Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. A. K. Connell; Mr. A. W. Crawley-Boevey; Mr. Stewart Crole; Mr. M. K. Deb; Mr. Downe; Mr. A. C. Elliott; Mr. F. L. D. Elliott; Miss Gawthrop; Mr. L. Hare; Mr. H. B. Harrington; Mr. E. Horwitz; Mr. T. Kennedy; Mr. A. J. Lawrence; Mr. J. Louis; Mr. R. G. Macdonald; Miss Manning; Mr. J. B. Pennington; Munshi Kashi Pershada; Mr. W. F. Piper; Miss Pons; Mr. Lesley Probyn; Mr. J. D. Rees; Mr. Alexander Rogers; Mr. Robert Sewell; M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.; Mr. P. M. Tait; F.R.G.S., F.S.S.; Miss Webster; Mr. W. Martin Wood; and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said that he had a strong opinion that the duty of a chairman at a meeting of that kind was to efface himself. They were met to hear a paper prepared by a gentleman with very full knowledge of his subject, and even if the chairman might have a scanty knowledge, it was perhaps better he should not intervene, and there was the more reason for it on that occasion, as he was one of those persons whose conduct Sir Charles Elliott was about to discuss, and therefore the proper attitude was to wait until they had heard what was about to be said with reference to the management of Indian affairs by those who were entrusted with them during the famine of 1896-97. He therefore proposed only to trouble the meeting with some preliminary remarks on one point. He had noticed that amidst much appreciative comment there seemed to be a trace of an idea that the Government of India, and himself in particular, did not at the outset altogether grasp the magnitude of the disaster. He thought Sir Charles Elliott would agree with him that the famine in India came upon them like a thief in the night; but in this idea he thought he traced two old friends, in the shape of complaints, of which he saw or heard a good deal at the time, one of which dwelt on what was styled his persistent optimism, and the other of which referred to a supposed delay in the initiation of the Famine Fund. As to the first of these, he wished he could refer the meeting to the statements which were made in the Legislative Council on October 15, 1896, by his hon. colleague, Sir John Woodburn, who was in charge of the Agricultural and Revenue Department, and by himself, because he thought that, if they could have those statements before them, they would recognise that, even

at that early stage, they were by no means inclined to underestimate the possibilities of disaster. On that occasion he stated that, while they were prepared to take the people fully, frankly, and fearlessly into their confidence as to the nature of the case, they also did not wish to conceal the position they desired to assume, and while they would give every information, they thought they ought to remain perfectly cool, and make no exaggeration, but endeavour to induce the people to believe that whatever could be done would be done to relieve them. He ventured to suggest that in what followed they fulfilled that promise. He did not think it would be disputed that, so far as active measures were concerned, nothing was left undone that time, money, or energy could achieve, nor that, in what was said, was there any misrepresentation of facts. What really happened was, that at the time when he was called upon to speak on the subject during his autumn tour, there were special circumstances at the moment which appeared to be of great importance, namely, that the prospect of the winter rains was still hanging in the balance. There were plenty of prophets of general woe, but there was no one who was able to keep the public informed as to this point, which was considered to be of very material importance, and as they did so consider it, he thought that perhaps they foresaw a little more, rather than a little less, what the calamities might have been had those rains failed. As a matter of fact, the rains did not fail. They came at last partially, and greatly affected the general position. Therefore, he would like to say that, whatever the estimate of his foresight may have been, he should never regret that, during the autumn of 1896, he did all he legitimately could to speak the words of encouragement rather than the words of despair. As to any alleged delay in the institution of the Famine Fund, there was very little really to say. He explained, in his place in the Council, that there were certain preliminary steps which must take time, and which had to be carried through, and they had also to consider the fact of the Christmas holidays in London; but subject to those matters, he did not admit that a day was lost, and they were able to present the case to the public, when it was presented, clearly defined, both as to its object and as to the extent of the calamity. He would not have referred to this subject at all but for a misconception, which he had observed prevailed in some quarters in this country, namely, that the earlier institution of the Famine Fund might have affected the actual relief of distress. He could show them that the Famine Fund never did, and never could, have taken the place of the relief which it fell to the Government to give in the matter of saving lives. Sir Charles Elliott would no doubt give them the figures showing what the expenditure of the Government was, but, on behalf of the Government, he had declined any assistance from private sources, and had said their means were ample, and their determination to use them was absolute. The Famine Fund, large though it was, would never have filled the gap, if gap there had been; but, as a matter of fact, the Government did its work ungrudgingly, and the Famine Fund was devoted, and he thought rightly devoted, not to objects which arose in the beginning of the famine, but to what he might call the closing period of the famine, and performed the

very munificent work of restoring the people to a life of comparative comfort and independence. If there was one among the memories of his life in India which was pleasing to him, it was his connection with the Famine Fund. It was, throughout, a conspicuous success, both in the response made to their appeal, in the careful and energetic management by the committees who were entrusted with the work, and in the results which were achieved, and their effect on the people. He was speaking there that afternoon for the first time in public in London, and he thought he should not go beyond his province if he said he wished he could convey to them a sense of the gratitude which was felt, not by the Government, but by the silent millions of the governed. It was an act of munificent charity, and he might venture to say also, though doubtless it did not affect the motives of any generous donor, it was an act of public wisdom, knitting together, as it did, in one noble enterprise the subjects of Her Majesty in every part of her dominions.

His Excellency then called upon Sir Charles Elliott to read his paper on "The Recent Indian Famine, and the Report of the Second Famine Commission."

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT, before reading his paper, desired to express his gratitude to Lord Elgin for having made the occasion for his first public appearance in England after his return from India the delivery of a lecture by one who had been one of his principal lieutenants when he first came to India as Viceroy.

For Sir Charles Elliott's paper, see p. 1.

The CHAIRMAN, in inviting discussion, desired to explain to Sir Charles Elliott that he quite understood that any comments upon the Government of India were taken from the Report of the Commission. So far as the paper had deviated from that course, he could only thank Sir Charles Elliott for what he had said; but so far as the Commission was concerned, his anticipations had been verified. Taking the Central Provinces as an instance, the Government of India put on official record in February, 1897, their opinion that, so far as the period antecedent to September, 1896, was concerned, any charges which had been brought against the Government of the Central Provinces of inactivity had been effectively dispelled. The Government of India must therefore share the responsibility of the Chief Commissioner, if the contrary opinion of the Commission was maintained. As Sir Charles Elliott had said, it was impossible, on that occasion, to go into details, and he only wished to express his concurrence in the demurrer put in by Sir Charles Elliott. There were some conclusions of the Commission in regard to the Central Provinces which he thought were open to challenge; but, speaking generally, he thought they had not made sufficient allowance for the special difficulties and the special circumstances of that Province. The very most that could be said of those difficulties and circumstances had been said by Mr. Holderness, and it was a matter of regret that that statement of them, and especially the portions quoted by Sir Charles Elliott, had not been given the prominence of appearing in the body of the report, instead of appearing in the minute of a single member of the Commission.



SIR HENRY CUNNINGHAM having congratulated Sir Charles Elliott upon the paper he had read, said it had given him great satisfaction to learn how far the arrangements suggested by the first Famine Commission had formed the basis on which succeeding administrators had dealt with the second great famine. The object of the Association he believed was to endeavour to bring before the public the persons most calculated to speak with absolute authority on various difficult administrative questions connected with India, and there was no doubt that they had had the privilege of listening to the two people in the world, Lord Elgin and Sir Charles Elliott, best qualified to give an opinion as to how such an enormous administrative difficulty was to be dealt with. One portion of Sir Charles Elliott's experience had been to deal with that phase of famine which had happily passed away when the whole matter got into chaos, and when there had been mortality on a most frightful scale. He had had the happiness to bring all that into something like order, and had taken part in preparing a report which had been considered of immense use in subsequent times. However much people might study the figures, it was very difficult for a European to form a conception of an Indian famine. When they had an enormous agricultural population, consisting of 50 per cent. of the whole community, when homes were broken up, and means of living destroyed, and the people thrown, much against their own will, on public support, one could imagine how great was the strain thrown on the officials, and what a splendid thing it was that any administration should be able to cope with it to the degree the English Government had coped with it during the recent famine. He thought he should be expressing the feeling of all when he said that amongst the memories Lord Elgin had left of himself in the East none had sunk deeper into the minds of the British nation, and none would more render his Viceroyalty a conspicuous and noble one amongst the many noble Viceroyalties they had to commemorate, than the great fortitude he exhibited, and the admirable powers which the officers under him displayed in meeting what was one of the greatest and most terrible calamities that had ever beset the human race.

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE said, with reference to his own Province of Bengal, he was perfectly content with the Report of the Commission, and he would like to say that the rice, which very reluctantly he allowed to be imported into his district, was not required, and was sold. In Bengal they derived the greatest benefit from the guidance which Sir Charles Elliott had left on record, and from a study of the measures that were adopted by him during his tenure of government. He wished to take that opportunity to say that nothing could be too high in the way of praise for the work done by the Divisional and District Officers in Bengal and other districts. The policy which he adopted was that of absolute trust in all subordinates. The general principles were laid down on which the work was to be administered, and having done that, he went down and met his officers in conference, and said to them, "I am going to trust you absolutely. You will have the fullest power, and I will support you in everything you think ought to be done." That trust was well placed, and in the Report of the Commission no doubt was expressed as to the result of

the administration. With reference to relief works in Bengal, they could show a large amount of real honest work carried out with famine funds. The policy adopted was not to make the tasks too light, but at the same time to avoid accumulating on the works a large number of helpless people of little use there. At one time, he was bound to admit, their gratuitous relief was somewhat too liberal, but the gentleman appointed by the Government of India to inquire into it was able to report that he had not seen a single person on the relief works, or on village relief, who ought not to have been. The Government of India throughout the famine gave them the most full and ready support in all their work, and as he had had the pleasure of working for some years under his Excellency Lord Elgin, and had been a member of his Excellency's Council, he desired to say that his Excellency carried with him, in his retirement, the sympathy and admiration of all who had been in any way connected with him. There was no Viceroy who had had harder times to meet than Lord Elgin during his Viceroyalty, and during the whole of that time they never saw him give in, or even appear disconsolate. He was always plucky and resolute in his determination to do the right thing, and to give encouragement and support, and what good work any of them had been able to do had been largely owing to his influence and support.

MR. STOKER, in dealing with some points on which the Famine Commission had taken exception to the policy pursued by the Government of the North-West Provinces, said that he was associated as Special Famine Secretary with the Government of those Provinces during the most important period of the operations, and therefore could claim familiarity with them. The chief point to which the Commission had taken exception was that upon two occasions, at the commencement of the hot weather, at the end of March, and at the commencement of the rainy season, which were both definite points of departure in famine administration, the action of the Government was calculated in the direction of exercising pressure to cause people to leave the relief works. The policy was a definite policy, it was not based upon ignorance of the condition of the people, or on ignorance of the exigencies they had to meet, but it was based upon some very large considerations, and was, he submitted, entirely justified by the intimate acquaintance the Government of the North-West Provinces possessed of even the most minute details of the whole operations throughout those Provinces. He might say, without any fear of correction, that a Government which undertook the administration of famine relief was bound, in the first place, to remember that the object of relief was to save life, and having satisfied that condition, it was imperatively bound to consider the method in which that relief could be carried out with due regard to economy, and without drawing excessively and unnecessarily on the finances of the Empire, because, on this occasion, the expenses of the famine were not made a charge against the provincial funds, but were supplied with unlimited generosity by the Government of India. Besides observing economy, there was a further duty upon the Government to see that their operations did not tend to produce demoralization amongst the people, and that was a point to which he attached the most extreme

importance. One of the greatest dangers which attached to famine in India, under present conditions, was the danger that relief might lead to some form of public demoralization. It had been argued that the famine itself, though it destroyed a portion of the population, left its survivors in a better condition than before. No humane person could allow such an academic theory, even if true, to influence his actions when brought face to face with the miseries of famine ; but it was true that any system which was calculated to produce a feeling of demoralization amongst the people would certainly leave the country in a worse position than it found it, and if excessive administration of relief was calculated to leave the people under the belief that they had only to look to the Government in times of distress and the relief would be continued after the occasion which called for it had passed away, then such a policy would be calculated to undermine those principles of frugality, industry and prudence which were the basis of all national prosperity. The other point to which the Commission had taken exception was the introduction of what was called the modified intermediate system, which was calculated to make famine relief works less attractive. A very great danger had threatened at two periods in the history of the famine, not merely that demoralization would ensue, but that a time had come when the agricultural operations of the country would be impeded by the labour being diverted to relief works. Had the relief labourers been permitted to remain, there would have been either no crops or an insufficient quantity to meet the demand for food. For that reason, he ventured to submit, the Government of the North-West Provinces having satisfied itself by careful inquiry that such measures could be adopted without any risk of suffering, wisely adopted a system which was calculated to relieve the anxiety which would have been felt had there been a failure of the spring and autumn harvests. Another point to which exception had been taken to the action of the Government of the North-West Provinces was that in exercising control over the administration of village relief, the Government found it necessary to specify some general guide by which its officers could determine, and the Government itself could determine, whether village gratuitous relief was being distributed with undue liberality, and it was pointed out that a fair average might be possibly found where 3 per cent. of the population were receiving gratuitous relief, or where the number receiving gratuitous relief was not more than one-third of the number receiving relief in all shapes, and when that point had been exceeded, the Government considered it would be necessary that some explanation should be offered of the excess. The Commission thought it was attended with some danger, that officers should be called upon to explain what might seem to the Government an excessive distribution of gratuitous relief. The Commission, with some inconsistency he thought, had added that such limit should be laid down as a guide to administrators, while at the same time it denied to the Government the right to inquire why such limitations were exceeded. It appeared to him that to ask the Government to prepare limitations of gratuitous relief without permitting the Government to call on its subordinates for an explanation when the relief seemed to be unduly profuse, was to ask the

Government to abrogate its functions. As illustrations of this, two conspicuous occasions had arisen which showed the necessity of exercising some such control, one in Oude and one in Banda, where the Government found, upon inquiry, that gratuitous relief was being distributed with undue profuseness. If one might compare small things with great, they had run some risks in the same way that Lord Salisbury's Government did when they opposed the French at Fashoda, but those risks were undertaken after due consideration, and after measures were designed, which were carried to a successful conclusion, and they could only judge by the results, which were found in the report of the Commission, namely, the extremely gratifying conclusion as to the successful measures carried out in the North-West Provinces. In conclusion, he asked permission to add his testimony to the gratitude which every official felt to Lord Elgin for the cordial and generous assistance received at every stage of their operations.

MR. MARTIN WOOD reminded the meeting that the period of famine extended over a much longer period than was covered by the two Famine Commissions referred to in Sir Charles Elliott's paper, and remarked upon the great improvements in the present-day treatment of a famine as compared with what was done, for example, in the case of the Orissa famine.

THE HON. J. D. REES, C.I.E., Madras, member of the Viceroy's Council, said that in 1876 he rode across Mysore, which was then devastated by famine, and the whole scene was one of desolation and despair, corpses being seen on every side. In 1896 he was in the Central Provinces, where the famine was most acute, and the contrast between the two periods was most striking. His particular occupation was writing an article about the famine for the "Nineteenth Century," and he desired to confirm other speakers as to the extremely good administration of the Central Provinces. The lessons of the previous famine had obviously been thoroughly learnt. The Government were so prepared for this great visitation that they were actually accused of not making enough of it, whereas everything worked like clockwork. Opinion as to the proper way of dealing with famines was divided into two schools, one of which thought that the Government came in too early, and did too much at the risk of demoralizing a self-respecting population. He had himself hitherto rather inclined to that school, but though he did not claim to be a distinguished convert, still, he had been present at the Legislative Council only a few weeks back, when the Finance Minister introduced a Budget which had not only astonished the members of the Council, but had astonished the whole world. The most extraordinary feature in that Budget was the manner in which the country had recovered from the effects of the famine. The Revenue, the collection of which was suspended, had come in with most extraordinary rapidity. This fact, he thought, showed how extremely wise Lord Elgin's Government had been, first, in taking the crisis calmly, and secondly, in applying relief in the most generous manner.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, in tendering the acknowledgments of the Association to Lord Elgin for the honour he had done them by making his first public address on his return from India at their meeting, desired to express his firm conviction, in common with that of most thoughtful men in

England, that one of the great triumphs of a very difficult Viceroyalty had been the consummately able way in which Lord Elgin had campaigned this great Indian Famine, and he thought that the recuperation of India, as shown in the Budget that had just come out, had really been due to the very wise liberality with which that disaster was met.

The CHAIRMAN thanked the meeting for their kind reception of what Sir Lepel Griffin had said, and assured them it had been a pleasure to him to be present to hear the very interesting paper which Sir Charles Elliott, with all his great knowledge of the subject, had put before them.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## RACK-RENTING OF THE LAND IN INDIA.

"Agrarian Conditions under British and Native Rule: a Comparison of the Revenue Systems of British India and Rájputáná." By M. F. O'Dwyer, I.C.S.

This was the title of a paper read before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on May 11.\* The subject dealt with is well worthy of the attention of those interested in India, not only as a comparative account of the systems of land revenue administration in British India and Native States, but because it also involves a consideration of that burning question of the day—the place that money-lenders do and should occupy with respect to the agricultural classes, the great bulk of the population of the country. Mr. O'Dwyer states: "As regards the native system, while it recognised that immemorial custom entitling the occupiers of the soil to the right to hold it without disturbance, and transmit it to their descendants, provided they paid the State share of the produce, whether fixed in kind or commuted into a cash payment, and whether varying with every harvest or fixed for a term of years, in practice limited its demand only by the ability of the land-holder to pay. No margin of profit was, therefore, left to the non-cultivating owner or occupier, as the State share absorbed all the rent which the latter could claim from the actual cultivation."

In short, the over-lord, whatever his designation may be, is the proprietor of the soil, and the limit of his exaction out of its produce is only that at which sufficient is left to the actual cultivator to maintain himself and his family and continue its cultivation. There is no margin left on the security of which a money-lender can rely for the repayment of any advances he may make to the cultivator, and the capitalist is therefore offered no attraction to induce him to come to the aid of the cultivator in order to meet current liabilities or improve his condition. Mr. O'Dwyer is of opinion that the high pitch of the assessment in native States, oppressive though it may be in some instances, acts as a safeguard against indebtedness and expropriation.

Before proceeding to consider whether this system tends on the whole to the benefit of the individual cultivator and the State, let us ascertain the state of the case in British territory. Inheriting from its predecessors the same rights the latter still retain over the soil, the British Government has of its own free will abandoned those rights, saving only that of the exaction of a rent for State purposes, thus placing itself in the position of a rent-charger in the place of that of a proprietor. In doing so, a margin of profit—the difference between a rent and a rack-rent—is left in the hands of the occupants or actual tillers of the soil. This margin, accord-

\* See Society's journal, May, 1899.

ing to the author of the paper, gives fatal facilities for the incurring of debt, and induces the latter to face the risk of running hopelessly into debt to the professional money-lender, and of being more or less rapidly despoiled of his property by those who are in a position to take advantage of his ignorance and want of foresight. He admits at the same time that under this system, the State demand being lighter, there is more freedom, more scope for individual effort, a higher standard of comfort, and more security that he who sows shall reap ; in fact, the system encourages enterprise and energy.

There are, no doubt, abuses under both systems. Under the native, a Chief not fully alive to his own interest may keep his tenant in the condition of a serf, who can do no credit to his administration, which will not benefit him, as the latter will not reap the reward of his own labour and the expenditure of his own capital if he tries to improve his own condition. If the over-lordship is in the hands of a coparcenary body, the mutual jealousies of the partners may, whilst preventing the chance of disruption, at the same time stay all progress and the greater benefit of the whole community. Under the British system, the imprudent landholder may run recklessly into debt in reliance on his margin of profit, and eventually become the serf of his creditor. In the one case the tenant is not allowed to walk, even in leading-strings ; in the other he is held so loosely that he occasionally trips and falls. Which of the two is the more conducive to the general welfare ?

After all, the greatest benefit of the greatest number, few people in the present days of advancement will be found to deny, should be the aim of all human administration where it can be carried out without injury to the vested rights of individuals. In the case of rack-rented tenants, there is no hope of progress, and all remain from generation to generation on the same dead level, the increase in the area of cultivation that must naturally take place being not more than sufficient to provide food for the increasing population. In the case of tenants in whose hands a margin of the profits of cultivation is left, their land becomes a valuable marketable property, by means of which a greater degree of personal comfort and increased contentment may be anticipated, and a further step towards advancement may be made. That advancement may be retarded by the trips and falls of improvident individuals, but it cannot be wholly stayed, and the community, and with it the State, must eventually be benefited. Even in the most prosperous agricultural communities a call for banking accommodation must occasionally arise, and it is said to be met in Native States by loans for private necessities from the more prosperous members of their own class ; but this can at most be a very precarious resource, even in coparcenary villages, where the shareholders would, as a rule, be anxious to support one of their number with funds rather than run the risk of the coparceny being broken up. But if they are held together by such a feeble bond as to require money-lenders to be kept out in order that their members may not be tempted into ruining themselves by debt, the sooner they are dissolved the better.

There can be no doubt that much mischief has been done in British

India by the facilities afforded by our system of civil procedure in matters of debt to unscrupulous money-lenders to deceive their ignorant creditors, and get them so completely into their power as to enable them to oust the latter from their lands. Various remedies have been proposed to cure the evil. One great cause that has led to the present state of affairs has, however, generally been overlooked. This was the alteration in the law of limitation, by which three years were fixed as the limit within which suits for the recovery of current account debts must be brought, instead of twelve, as under the old law. When the new law came into force, the money-lenders, who had till then had twelve years in which to come to terms with their tenants, were forced, in order not to lose their rights, to go into Court at once and sue for them. The pressure thus brought suddenly and unexpectedly to bear on their debtors was, there can be little doubt, one of the chief causes that led to the Deccan riots, to inquire into which the well-known Commission sat in the Bombay Presidency. The principal measure adopted in consequence of the report of that Commission was the establishment of Courts of Conciliation to act as intermediaries between creditors and debtors, save the latter from undue exactions on the part of the former, and prevent them from running heedlessly into debt. These Courts, so far as they have been brought into operation, have answered their purpose; but what would probably bring about a far better feeling between the two classes would be the re-enactment of the old Law of Limitation in as far as concerns ordinary account debts unfortified by bonds. It is hopeless to expect this now, although the Legislature may take warning from the result of the change, which was an unnecessary and mischievous adoption of Western ideas and methods of procedure among a people who from time immemorial had managed to get on with their creditors in their old, unsophisticated way. Other remedies also have been proposed, such as those mentioned by the author of the paper, viz., the prohibition of alienation of proprietors' home-farms in the Central Provinces, and the Bill recently passed to amend the Indian Contract Act. In the latter, as explained by the Legal Member of Council, Mr. Chalmers, a very wise principle has been adopted. Freedom of contract is preserved when the parties to such contract can contract with each other on a footing of equality, but where the relations between them are such that one is in a position to dominate the other, and uses his dominant position to impose unfair terms on the other, the Courts are empowered to open up the whole transaction, and either set it aside, or, if the parties cannot be restored to their original position, to see that right and justice is done. This is certainly going as far as the Legislature could venture to go. Any further advance tending to protect the debtor from the consequences of his own folly would be unjustifiable now that it is legally competent for the Courts to go behind a contract he may have entered into through ignorance, and save him from the consequences of such ignorance. It is sincerely to be hoped that the proposal to prohibit the alienation of land, which has hitherto been resisted, will continue to be so. It would be a grave error to try heroic remedies for evils that will no doubt eventually be cured by natural means, although in the first



instance individuals may suffer, and a most mistaken policy to impose rack-rents for the purpose of keeping money-lenders at a distance. We will even go so far as to say it will be for the general benefit if pauper cultivators who have not sufficient agricultural capital of their own to be able to stand on their own feet without resort to money-lenders for ordinary agricultural operations should cease to try to hold the position of landholders, and sink to that of day-labourers. In nature, there is one head to a pair of hands. To prevent the sale and mortgage of lands, subject, of course, to the right of the State to levy rent from them, would be a bar to the advancement of the solvent landholder for want of temporary accommodation, and the bettering of the general status of the community by the accumulation in the hands of capitalists of lands which such men only, and not pauper *rayats*, could develop to the public good. Such a proceeding as that of Lord Cornwallis in benefiting capitalists and superior holders without due regard to the rights of the actual holders of the soil was, of course, a grievous wrong; but this can never be repeated, and the wrong caused has, at all events, been mitigated by recent legislation. Yet none will deny that good has to some extent arisen from it in providing capital for the improvement of the soil. Rack-renting for the future being thus prevented, and the enjoyment of his own by the *rayat* being secured, it is an unpardonable fault in the State to pursue, however unwittingly, the opposite policy in the case of lands paying revenue directly to the State, as in the *rayatwari* districts of Madras and Bombay. The result of so doing in the former Presidency has been lately shown in a letter to the journal called *India*, the organ of the Parliamentary Committee of the National Indian Congress, from which we quote the following statements :

"There are over 6,000,000 acres of arable assessed land lying waste, notwithstanding the existence of a superabundant agricultural population quite sufficient and willing to take it up. The reason of this is over or uneven assessment of the land to the public revenue. . . . The result of such over or uneven assessment is that the land revenue is collected ONLY [this may be modified by saying '*partially*'] by the aid of numerous evictions, amounting to many thousands annually, of *rayats* from their lands, the right to cultivate which is put up to sale by auction, often together with the personal property of the defaulters, for the realization of the revenue, and a large proportion of the land has to be bought in by Government at nominal prices for want of bidders."

Can there be a doubt that this state of affairs is due to the rack-renting of the land? A further quotation from the same letter, all the statistics contained in which are to be found in the official annual settlement reports, affords a complete confirmation of the state of affairs depicted :

"By the returns of 1896-97, there are in the whole Presidency less than 700 holdings (really 690) of over 1,000 rupees, and out of 3,170,094 tenants 2,110,600 had holdings 0 under 10 rupees a year. In 1889-90 there were 428 of the former, and 1,870,694 of the latter, so that in seven years, while substantial tenants have increased by only 272, the comparatively poor ones are more by 285,611."

In Bombay, on the other hand, where, in assessing *rayatwari* land, a margin of profit is knowingly left in the hands of the holders in order to give the land a marketable value, it is difficult to find any that is arable uncultivated.

Enough has been said to show the different results of fair assessment and rack-renting. There are not wanting other innumerable arguments in favour of the former policy. These it would be an insult to the common-sense of the readers of this review to elaborate further.

A. ROGERS.

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#### THE SOUDAN.

It is expected that the railway to Khartum will be opened between September 1 and 15 next, when trade will be opened without restrictions. Foreign goods will be free, except a small fee at Wady Halfa. A tax of 20 per cent. to the Soudan Government will be levied upon the products of the country, such as gum, ivory, and feathers. The railway-rates will be based on those of Egypt, with a small increase, in consequence of the heavier cost of coal. Europeans will be free to acquire land, and a registry-office is to be established. Legislation will proceed by proclamations. The state of the public finances is satisfactory, and health is improving.

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#### ENGLAND, RUSSIA, AND CHINA.

The agreement between England and Russia with regard to their respective railway interests in China is as follows : (1) England engages not to seek for her own account, or on behalf of British subjects, or of others, any railway concessions to the north of the Great Wall of China, and not to obstruct, directly or indirectly, applications for railway concessions in that region supported by the Russian Government. (2) Russia engages to observe the same conditions with respect to the basin of the Yang-tsze—that is, the provinces adjoining the Yang-tsze River, and Ho-nan and Che-kiang, which comprise nearly half, and much the best half, of the eighteen provinces, with an area of something like half a million square miles. The sovereign rights of China are preserved, and the object of the agreement is to avoid complications, to consolidate peace in the Far East, and to serve the primordial interests of China.

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#### EGYPTIAN FINANCE, ADMINISTRATION, AND PROGRESS.

The report of Lord Cromer on the condition of Egypt recently presented to Parliament is exhaustive and important. The actual revenue for the year 1897 was £E11,092,000 (the Egyptian pound is equal to £1 os. 6d.), and the expenditure £E10,659,000. The railway receipts are rapidly increasing; they amounted to £E1,938,000, being an excess over the previous year of £E162,000. The number of passengers was 10,742,000, as compared with 9,854,000. The working expenses amount to about 43 per cent. of the gross receipts. New agricultural roads to the amount of 238 kilometres have been constructed, at a cost of £E23,500. Telegraph wires have been extended, and new post offices and stations opened. The construction of the Nile reservoir is proceeding, and it is estimated to cost at least £2,000,000. The total population, exclusive of Suakim and Dongola Province, is 9,734,000, being an

increase during the past fifteen years of 43 per cent. They consist of 8,979,000 Moslems, 730,000 Christians, and 25,000 Jews. The Christians consist of 608,000 Copts, 54,000 Orthodox, 56,000 Roman Catholics, 12,000 Protestants. The whole population may be divided into 9,622,000 Egyptians, and 112,000 foreigners, the latter consisting chiefly of Greeks, Italians, English, and French. Of the British subjects there are 6,463 Maltese, and 614 British Indians. The interest taken in education is increasing. The number of pupils in the Government schools during the last ten years has increased from 2,000 to over 11,000, of whom 51 per cent. learn English, and 49 per cent. French. The percentage in the former is gradually increasing, while that of the latter is diminishing. Lord Cromer considers that the régime during the past fifteen years, though still defective, but being amended gradually, "has conferred, and is still conferring, the utmost benefit on the Egyptians, and on all who are concerned in the welfare of Egypt."

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#### PERSIA.

An esteemed correspondent in Persia writes :

"French intrigues have been going on in the Persian Gulf for a long time, but the British authorities seem to have become aware of them only quite lately in connection with Muskat. England has spent many millions sterling, and thousands of lives, in order to suppress piracy and slavery, and open the Gulf to free and unhampered international commerce, and as no other nation has taken a share of the work and expense, any interference should not be tolerated."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.; LONDON.

1. *The Chronology of India*, by C. MABEL DUFF (Mrs. W. R. Rickmers).—The aim of this work is to give the chronology of India from the earliest times to the beginning of the sixteenth century; but the authoress more than fulfils the promise of her title-page. She gives us not only a "chronology," but at the same time also what might be termed a chronological *history*. For, from the beginning to the end the book is crammed, not with dates merely, but also with facts consecutively arranged,—the leading and salient facts of the periods as they follow on. To give an account of the contents of the work would require more space than we have at our disposal. It may suffice to say that it will be found invaluable to all students of Indian history and antiquities; while to compilers of works of a historical nature relating to the tribes and races of India it will be indispensable.

The index extends to nearly a hundred pages, and besides including references to the almost endless personal and place-names which occur in the book, includes also references to events. This renders this part of the work most important. There is also a long appendix, and several tables setting forth the various dynasties in their order. The principle on which it is constructed is well explained in the preface. The amount of learning compressed into the work is incredible; and the time and labour which so much patient research must have cost no reader of the book will ever be able to understand. As regards the press-work, it is admirably executed. The authoress has been at pains to mark the long vowels. This is most helpful, as it guards the reader, at every step from the beginning, from that mispronunciation so characteristic of English people in their attempts at vocalizing Oriental words, and which so often excites the risibility of the humorous Hindú. All that is needed in this feature of the work is to indicate the *accent* of words, as well as the length of vowels; for the accent in Indian words does not by any means invariably fall upon the long vowels. There are many instances, however, in which this point of detail in the work is, to the disadvantage of the reader, overlooked. The point is one of great importance, and it is very helpful when it is carefully attended to.

We note, also, that nothing is said regarding the various ingenious methods of harmonizing the dates of different systems of chronology. The dates A.D. and A.H. and the dates of events in the different eras of the Hindús, for instance, are given; but what the reader needs to know is how the correspondence between any given Hindú or Muhammadan date and any given English (or "Christian") date is arrived at. The whole explanation would not have occupied more than a page or two of the preface, and it would have been of much use to the reader as a key to the whole work, the practical value of which would thus have been greatly enhanced. Perhaps in a later edition this may be attended to, and the permanency of the work will in this way be secured. Several attempts,

more or less voluminous, have been made to bring the subject of the chronology of the Hindús out from its obscurity, but the present work brings the study "up to date," and places it from this time forward on a higher platform. B.

2. *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, by R. S. WHITEWAY, B.C.S. (retired).—In this work of some 350 pages the author gives the history of the connexion of the Portuguese with India, from 1497 to 1550. In his "Introductory" chapter he gives a condensed account of the trading in ancient times between East and West, together with a brief narrative of the origin of the Portuguese nation. He then works his way into the thrilling story of Portuguese maritime and mercantile enterprise, and then floats fairly away into his subject. The hook is one of the most interesting we have for a long time met with. There is not a dry page in it. It is well planned and admirably written. The writer is, as he tells us on his title-page, a retired officer of the Bengal Civil Service. He evidently has been taken possession of by the spirit of Oriental research—a spirit that spares no pains in ferreting out obscure details from obscure corners, and turning them to practical account by generously sharing them with all and sundry. The writer is the owner of a rapid, vivacious, and pleasing style, yet a style condensed, informing, and forceful, such as makes the reading of this book at once a pastime and a mental tonic. In his preface he says that "if the subject prove of sufficient interest, the work will be concluded with a volume on the *decline* of the Portuguese Power in India." There is no doubt that all who are interested in the annals of that beautiful and dreamy land will find their appetites whetted by reading this first volume, and will desire the remaining one. It is really good work; there is nothing slipshod about it; and we hope we shall see more work equally good from the same pen.

In the section devoted to the "Contents" there is a new feature (or, perhaps, we ought rather to say a revival of an old one) in the shape of a bibliographical account of the numerous works quoted in the course of the volume. This puts the reader in a position to appraise for himself the historical value of the authorities on whose writings the work is built up. They are nearly all Portuguese writers, and the work is in great measure based upon Portuguese State Papers, some of which have never yet been published. The name of the Prophet of Arabia has been variously maltreated, but we never yet saw it spelt "Muhamed." Why should not a man of Mr. Whiteway's attainments keep to the simple spelling of the Arabic? But the work is, on the whole, beautifully finished. We notice, however, here and there a want of correctness and uniformity in small details. On page 135, for instance, we have "Delhi," but "Dehli" in the map. There are, to be sure, half a dozen ways of spelling this word, but *one* might be sufficient for one and the same author. This will, doubtless, be put right in a future edition. B.

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

3. *In the Niger Country*, by HAROLD BINDLOSS. Mr. Bindloss writes so agreeably and picturesquely that his somewhat discursive volume

is a very welcome addition to the growing literature of West Africa. Although the book is, as its title denotes, mainly devoted to a description of the Niger Coast Protectorate (formerly the Oils Rivers Protectorate), he has something to say of every part of the West Coast from the Rio del Oro to Old Calabar. Mr. Bindloss writes as a traveller, but an extremely observant one, and his experience of other parts of the world has supplied him with materials for comparison and criticism denied to many specialists in African affairs. In consequence, his remarks on such vexed questions as missionary influence, the relations between the Niger Company and private adventurers, and the general character of West Coast traders, are worthy of special attention. Mr. Bindloss, it may be noticed, has by no means the high opinion of the Negro entertained by Miss Kingsley, who regards the pure Negro stock as superior to the Bantu. With the latter race (whose extreme North-Western limit is in the Cameroons region) he does not deal, but he has much to say about the Fulahs and the Haussas, and the Moslem civilization of the Western Sudan. It is noteworthy that Hausa or Yoruba Muhammadans are the only West African natives who can be trusted in police or military duties.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Bindloss has not brought his interesting book up to date by some mention of the downfall of Samadu ("Samory"), an event which should necessitate the revision of certain chapters in a future edition, since the destruction of that chief's power has removed some serious political difficulties. Still, he pays a well-deserved tribute to the energy of the French in West Africa, and his description of the unfortunate affair at Waimà throws new light on an incident which has been very generally misunderstood.

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

4. *Man, Past and Present*, by A. H. HEANE, F.R.G.S., author of "Ethnology," "The Indo-Chinese and Oceanic Races and Languages," etc. This elaborate and exhaustive work deals largely with the history of the human race in what is usually termed prehistoric time. The two preliminary chapters treat in a general way on cradle, origin, and migrations of the pleistocene precursor with the stone and metal ages. The subsequent twelve chapters deal minutely with the primary groups and chief sub-branches of the human family. The facts have been drawn from the best available sources, supported by careful references to recognised authorities. The *African* type, in the various sections of the Sudanese, Bantus, Negritoes, Bushmen, Hottentots; the *Oceanic* Negro, in his various sections; the *Northern, Southern, and Oceanic Mongols*; the *Aborigines of America*; and the *Caucasic Peoples*, are also severally and carefully examined, and illustrated by exceedingly well-executed plates. The volume is well printed, being one of the Cambridge Geographical Series, enriched with a copious and minute index, and will be of much interest to the ethnologist, and of great value to the intellectual student.

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C. J. CLAY AND SONS; LONDON.

5. *The Story of Aḥikár*, by F. C. CONYBEARE, J. RENDEL HARRIS, and AGNES-SMITH LEWIS. This is an attempt to edit the episode of Aḥikár and Nadán. The person chiefly responsible for the work is Mr. Rendel Harris. The texts of the story as now extant, in Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic, are given in the latter portion of the book. These are preceded by translations into English of the several versions of the story (of Aḥikár and Nadán) as found in the Slavonian, Armenian, Syriac, Æthiopic, and Arabic. In the introduction to these texts, versions, and translations of the story Mr. Harris discusses a number of important matters relating to the personality of Aḥikár, his place in history, and the nature and claims of the story with which his name is connected. He discusses such questions as the age of the tradition, the materials now extant regarding it, the principal characters in the story, allusions to Aḥikár more or less obscure in Greek literature, the episode of Aḥikár in relation to Tobit (of the Apocrypha), the relation of Aḥikár to the canonical Books of Scripture, the use made of the story in the Qur'ân and other books, and he closes with some additional remarks on the primitive language of the story and on the extent to which it is found in literature. He thus deals with the state of the question at the present time, and in particular with the inquiry as to the relation of the story to the Canonical and Apocryphal Books of Scripture, with the view of showing to which of these categories the story belongs. The author does not put forth the work as a final settlement of the very difficult question of which he treats, but hopes that it may "pave the way for further" inquiry. What we have said will have helped to show that the work is a very elaborate treatise on a very erudite and out-of-the-way subject. There is no index, and the list of contents is but a meagre outline to the work; but there are many learned footnotes and references to authorities, and the printers have executed their part well. B.

MR. ELLIOT STOCK; LONDON.

6. *China and its Future, in the Light of the Antecedents of the Empire, its People and their Institutions*, by JAMES JOHNSTON, author of "China and Formosa," with illustrations. At the present moment, everything relating to China is of much importance, hence this pleasantly written work ought to be read with great interest. The author has a sincere sympathy with the people from his experience in their country, and from a close and an extensive observation. The book, although comparatively small (not 200 pages), covers a large field, embracing a description of the country, its people and industrious pursuits, its social and educational position, its religion and literature, its very ancient history—the oldest, in a permanent form, in the world—and from a philanthropic and Christian point of view he justly points out the vast importance of this large region of the earth to English commerce and other developments, and the necessity of the civilizing Powers of the West maintaining the integrity of the Empire. The work is accompanied with numerous interesting illustrations, an appendix exhibiting the estimated population and area of the respective provinces, and a very copious and useful index.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

7. *A Marriage in China*, by MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE. This semi-religious novel belongs to the class of fiction which aims at fulfilling a function. It evinces considerable experience of life in China, and deals with many questions concerning the benighted condition of the people. The pictures of squalor, misery, and total absence of comfort are extremely distressing. Difficulties endured by missionaries through the deep-rooted hatred to foreigners continue unabated, and are well exemplified. The love-story of the beautiful Lilian Grey, like many another, does not run smoothly; her face and her fortune bring suitors, and sorrows. Mrs. Betterton is a well-drawn character, essentially human, notwithstanding her aspirations to be a spiritually-minded missionary. Her chief task is to restore the early religious training of the hero, Claude Fortescue, whose sojourn in China has involved him in many errors. The story, however, ends happily with a pretty setting of home surroundings, owing to the forgiveness and devotion of his faithful wife. The merit of Mrs. Little's book lies in its easy reading, and the smart, fearless discourses of its *personae*, of which there is rather too large a crowd. Where description comes in, it is decidedly characteristic, whether of life, or scenes at native or home stations. A vein of humour runs through all the chapters, and those who are interested in China and its ultimate advancement will be pleased with much that Mrs. Little has set down in her story. S.

8. *A History of Japanese Literature*, by W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT. To all who study Japan seriously, this able and important work will be most acceptable, supplying a want often felt by earnest students who are not sufficiently advanced themselves to cope with the difficulties of the language, and have hitherto lacked a reliable source of information. Mr. Aston has combined in a most agreeable manner profound knowledge and delightful reading. He leads the inquirer with a master hand from archaic times through many a period of interesting change in literature and learning, and leaves him face to face with the present state of culture in Japan. Mythology, folklore, poetry, religion, history, influenced more or less by the Chinese classics and Buddhism, come into the translations. Records of the past even retain their undying charms, and all connected with the Land of the Gods is unique and artistic. The *Tanka*, or short poems of thirty-two syllables, remind us of the charming pictures in metal executed on *fuchi*, *kashira*, and *kanemono*, containing much to admire in the smallest compass. The old Japanese classics, the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Genji Monogatari*, are, thanks to existing works, fairly well known to us; but the long list Mr. Aston has now carefully divided into progressive periods will be eagerly studied by all interested in the Far East and its development. The gem of the book is one of the pieces of the *No* drama, attributed to Motokujo—the legend of *Takasago* and *Sumiyoshi*, or the Spirits of the Pine-trees, that exquisite love-idyll without a representation of which no marriage-feast is considered complete. The reader must seek out such charms, for we are unable here to give even short extracts of Mr. Aston's delightful renderings. Much of the best literature, strange



to say, is the work of Japanese women, whose minute study of humanity and nature is very conspicuous. S.

9. *Under the African Sun: a Description of Native Races in Uganda, Sporting Adventures, and other Experiences*, by W. J. ANSORGE. This splendid volume, elaborately illustrated, contains a wealth of information about the Uganda Protectorate somewhat loosely arranged. Dr. Ansonge has presented to his readers a sort of encyclopædia of native life and natural history, and has much to say on the ethnology of the Waganda, Wanyoro, Wasoga, and their neighbours, and of their handicrafts and comparative culture, while he has added fifty new species to the list of lepidoptera, and takes a keen interest in sport and the African fauna. Moreover, his book, written partly in a diary form, gives many curious and interesting details of life on the head-waters of the Nile, for the sake of which his want of literary art may well be condoned. The author was Medical Officer to Government, and was called upon, during the recent troubles, to act in an executive capacity. For this very reason he is debarred from speaking of contentious matters, though he gives a graphic account of incipient mutiny among the Soudanese garrisons in Unyoro, whose defection (happily averted, as we can see if we read between the lines, very largely by his own firmness) would have more than doubled the difficulties of the authorities. The time has not yet come for the whole story of the recent Uganda troubles to be told: when it does, it will be recognised that the unwise parsimony of the Home Government created a situation for which the handful of able—even brilliant—officers and administrators in the Protectorate are held responsible by an ignorant public.

Dr. Ansonge, as we have said, writes as an official, and his attitude of reticence is quite correct. At the same time, many people in England desire rather to understand the facts of the political situation in this most unfortunate of our recent acquisitions than the precise methods of native architecture. And while Dr. Ansonge's book is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Africa (though it is to be regretted that he has devoted no attention to the study of folk-lore or of primitive religious ideas), we have still, if we wish to understand the events of the last ten years on the shores of Victoria Nyanza, to make a painful collation of the writings of Lugard, Colville, Portal, Macdonald, Ashe, and Vandeleur. Dr. Ansonge, we think, might very well, while avoiding indiscreet revelations, have taken more pains to give the general reader a connected idea of recent events: as it is, his allusions would probably puzzle anyone who does not happen to have read other books on the country. But what he proposed on his title-page to do, he has done excellently.

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T. HUTTON; CHURCH STREET, ORMSKIRK.

10. *An Old Philosophy in 101 Quatrains*, by THE MODERN UMAR, KHAYAM. The author has, with much skill and beauty, contrived to blend the Occident with the Orient. Our space allows us to give only a few of the quatrains as a specimen of his publication:

O God, who knowest that we every day  
 Are apt to wander from the lawful way,  
 Grant us Thy grace, that we may ever run  
 As Thou wouldst wish, and guide us day by day.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 The buds, refreshed with early morning dew,  
 Open their petals and glad life renew;  
 And o'er them watches the untiring Eye  
 In life's enjoyment, for 'tis good and true.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 The Moslem still expects an earthly bliss,  
 The Huri's winning smile and martyr's kiss,  
 And with fair Ganymedes dispensing wine,  
 No future lot can, thinks he, vie with this.  
 The Buddhist holds Nirvána's blessings dear,  
 And future consciousness illusions mere:  
 The Súfi thinks already we are nought:  
 Brahmins in Deity would disappear.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Muse on Him in thy heart, and be thou still,—  
 Submit thy soul to His all-gracious will:  
 What boots it to thee, if a world thou gain,  
 And dost not fear Him who that soul can kill?

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Reflect, reflect, and for the end prepare.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

II. *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, re-edited from two Sinai MSS. and from Paul de Lagarde's edition of the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*, by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., and MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, M.R.A.S. We are all by this time well acquainted with the story of the discovery of these two codices by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in the ancient convent of St. Katherine, in Mount Sinai, in 1892, and the names of these ladies have now become "as familiar in our ears as household words." The main object of the present work is to publish the original text of the two manuscripts still in the convent. A third copy of the codex is in the Vatican Library, and is in the present volume designated, for convenience of reference, "Codex A." The codices, now for the first time published in England, are designated B and C. Codex A is dated A.D. 1030; Codex B (discovered, as above-mentioned, in 1892) is dated 1104; and Codex C (discovered at the convent by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1893) is dated A.D. 1118. Codex C cannot be a mere copy of Codex B, for C has passages not found in B; nor, again, can B be a mere copy of C, for besides the fact that there are many variations between them, B is dated fourteen years prior to C. Codex B approximates in some places more closely with A than with C, and sometimes more closely with C than with A; yet, though there is a difference (very slight) in the arrangement of the lections of B and C, still they are more closely related to one another than to A. Thus are the three codices clearly distinct the one from the other; and the conclusions thus stated are easily verified by means of the list of variations and peculiarities in the three.

After giving an account of other manuscripts extant in the Syriac of

Palestine, as also of the Vatican codex, the learned authoress of the Introduction gives an account of the discovery of B and C in 1892 and 1893, and of the visits of herself and her sister together in 1892, 1895, and 1897 to the Sinai convent. She then describes the two codices, gives an account of the dialect in which they are written, and finally describes still later discoveries, and brings the whole subject up to date. The present work shows that while the text of B and C presents some remarkable features of its own, and which are such as render the undertaking fruitful, it is of special value, as supplementary of the codex at the Vatican; and herein lies the main point and importance of the enterprise. The printing of the work (which, by the way, is beyond all praise) involved great labour extending over five years; it also necessitated the third visit to the Sinai convent by both ladies. This visit was made in the spring of 1897, when they took with them the proof-sheets of both codices for the purpose of comparing them word for word with the originals prior to the final printing, and thus did they relieve the learned discoverer of Codex C from the necessity of making a second journey thither. Scholars now have the opportunity of comparing the two codices with one another, with the view of marking their several peculiarities in respect of orthography and diction. To reach the convent is a matter of difficulty, not without inconvenience and danger, and also expense; nor are there many who have either the leisure or the physical energy requisite for so unusual an undertaking. The difficulties are all removed by the enterprise, learning, and toil of these noble-minded ladies; and the materials are in this work placed within the reach of all who care to look into the subject, which they may now do without stirring from their own firesides. The outcome of all the toil and travel of these ladies during nearly a decade of years is the very sumptuous volume now published. B.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON.

12. *History of British India*, by SIR WILLIAM HUNTER, LL.D., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society.—The present is volume the first of Dr. Hunter's long-projected History of India. In the introduction he tells us that it was at first his intention to prepare a complete history of India from the early Aryan period onwards, but that he has seen reasons to reduce the plan of the undertaking. Of this he can best speak for himself. "I shall now," he says, "be thankful if I am permitted to present a narrative of events since the country came into contact with the nations of modern Europe. In such a narrative the internal history of India and its wondrous diversity of races, religions, and types of intellectual effort will form not the least instructive chapters. But the chief purpose of the book is to trace the steps by which the ascendancy of England was won in the East, the changes which it has wrought, and the measures by which it is maintained." To the reader already to any moderate extent acquainted with the subject of the rise and progress of European power in Asia, these few sentences will convey a fair idea of the nature and scope of the present work.

The volume now before us (first of the series) brings down the history to as far as the overthrow of the English power in the Spice Archipelago, in 1623. The almost infinite quantity of details which the work embodies has been well sifted and well manipulated, with the result that the very crabbed details of the subject have been welded together into a thoroughly readable volume. For readers of an antiquarian instinct, one of the most interesting chapters of the book will be the story of the ancient trade routes which crossed Asia from China to the Mediterranean Sea, taking India on the way. Later on the author gives us the narrative of the arrival in Asiatic waters of the various enterprising nations of Europe—the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, the English; and he is at some pains to show that the distinction of having discovered the Cape route to the East belongs not, as is so commonly asserted, to Vasco da Gama. He then seeks to give honour to those to whom honour is due. It would have been interesting if he had given us some light on the question so often discussed, as to whether that route was not originally discovered by the brave and hardy Phœnician mariners long prior to the Christian era, or even to the age of Solomon. The story of the numerous reverses and conflicts of the various races of Europe in their advancement in various directions in Asia, is admirably rendered; and to the English reader one of the most attractive portions of the volume will be found to be the narrative of the origin and growth of the British and Dutch East India Companies. It is published in quarto size, containing 475 pages very beautifully printed, with quite an unusual absence of press errors. In some places, however, we notice a want of care in the art of punctuating and a certain looseness in the framing of sentences. Sir William Hunter might *revise* his composition somewhat; this would be for his own advantage, as well as that of his reader. It is not exactly pleasing when one has to read a sentence over again that he may be quite sure of its bearings. But next to Macaulay, we know of no writer in the present half of the closing century who succeeds so well as Dr. Hunter does in welding into the form of readable and consecutive story the dry and isolated details of hitherto unpublished papers found in the archives of Westminster and other places. The index at the end of the work is one of the most useful and painstaking we have ever met with. The footnotes extend from the first page to the last; in all instances they are helpful, and in some instances very recondite. Most of them consist of references to authorities and sources of information, which the reader may follow up; and many of them contain a good deal of general information. In respect, also, of geography, chronology, topography, and etymology they are very valuable.

To a reviewer this work is most tempting; but we must not transgress reasonable limits. The labours of Sir William Hunter in the realm of Oriental research are by this time well known to all Orientalists. *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, first published between thirty and forty years ago, awakened us to the fact that a writer had now appeared who was "to the manner born," and from whom we should hear more. Every work he has since published has vindicated the wisdom of the Government of India in setting him free from the drudgery of the cutchery to serve the Empire in

a department so emphatically his own. The present work is being carried forward with all the thoroughness and *penchant* which the author throws into *all* his work. It is not, however, by any means exhaustive. He marches over the ground with long strides, and there is many a hiatus. The work is, however, a grand contribution to some full History of India yet to be written.

B.

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JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

13. *Eastern Persian Irak*, by GENERAL A. HOUTUM SCHINDLER. In this memoir of 132 pages the author, long a resident in the country, and from his position well able to give information regarding Persia, tells us all about Eastern Persian Irak, which he rightly describes as being "practically a blank on all existing maps." He devotes nearly a third of the work to a description of the Province of Kom, giving much valuable information which the reader will find particularly interesting, as it treats of its ancient history, boundaries, population, revenues, etc. The Province of Mahallat, the birthplace of Sayyid Abul Hassan Khan, the ancestor of the present Aga Khan of Bombay, who is the acknowledged head of the Ismailiān sect, is next described, followed by briefer accounts of the Provinces of Natanz, Joshegan, Kashan, Ispahan, Irak, Saveh, and Teheran. A good map accompanies the text, and the orography, geology, hydrography, meteorology, flora, fauna, and ethnology of the different localities are admirably and fully set forth. Considering the political relations existing between Great Britain and Persia, the work should be of much interest and value to statesmen, travellers, and others.

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GEORGE NEWNES, LIMITED; LONDON, 1898.

14. *Raiders and Rebels in South Africa*, by ELSA GOODWIN GREEN. Mrs. Green gives an interesting account, in her little volume, of the experiences of men and women, in Rhodesia, during the war of 1896. Amongst the incidents described are the Mashona rising; the defeat, trial, and execution of the chief Makoni; the death of Major Evans at Gatzie's Kraal; and the rescue of the prisoners at the Alice Mine. There are upwards of a dozen good illustrations.

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OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

15. *Among the Wild Ngoni; being some Chapters in the History of the Livingstonia Mission in British Central Africa*, by DR. W. A. ELMSLIE, M.B., etc., with an introduction by the RIGHT HON. LORD OVERTOUN. The sphere in which the Livingstonia Mission seeks to evangelize is on the West Coast of Lake Nyasa, in British Central Africa, a district about 300 miles long and 100 miles broad. The author, helped by his devoted wife, a daughter of the late famous missionary Dr. Moffat, and many others, have been labouring some years as ambassadors of Christ and pioneers in the service of the mission. The author graphically describes their early experiences and the dangers and difficulties they encountered, and how they won at last the respect and love of the Ngoni tribe. The result is

that now there are 7 native churches with over 1,000 members, 85 schools with 11,000 scholars, and 300 native teachers and preachers. An exceedingly well-executed map by John Bartholomew and Co. accompanies the volume.

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SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

16. *The Philippine Islands*, by JOHN FOREMAN, F.R.G.S.—This is the second edition of a remarkable work. It is, in fact, a history of the Philippine Archipelago and its Dependencies during the whole period of the Spanish ascendancy down to the recent conquest by the Americans. The author deals with the geography, the ethnography, the politics, and the social and commercial life of the islands. The present edition is enlarged and brought up to date, and contains some plans of localities, an excellent map of the entire Archipelago, and a long series of well-executed photo-gravures illustrative of the scenes depicted in the course of the work.

How very difficult it is for one who has resided for any considerable number of years in any country of the mysterious East to convey to untravelled persons a precise idea of anything connected therewith is felt by all who have had experience in this line of things. Everyone who has thus by hard and long experience earned the right to speak as an authority has often to regard his hearers with dismay. The facts are so new, so different from European experience, and so caviare withal, that such a one grows accustomed, in course of time, to being discredited or regarded with misgiving, as a crank, or as a curiosity, or even as an exaggerator. It is evident from the preface that our author knows something of this kind of experience. It is a common fate, and there is no help for it.

One easily finds himself prepossessed in favour of this author. There is a singular modesty about his narrative. The style in which he clothes it is unaffected, transparently sincere and truthful, and straightforward. It is such as to disarm criticism and enlist sympathy and credence. At the same time, there is excellent discrimination, good sense, and power of weighing facts. The incidents given, together with the descriptions of native life and character, tally with wonderful precision with descriptions which might be given of the lowland and agricultural classes in India. Anyone who knows the natives of India and their manners and customs may be said to know also the Philippines at home. And this observation is no less true of the numerous half-caste population of both countries.

The failure of Spain as a colonizer is clearly made out in this volume. To colonize with the view of self-aggrandizement is proved in this volume to be a fatal mistake. The benefits of colonization should be shared by the conquered race. A nobler illustration of this principle than is displayed by the British ascendancy in India the world has never before seen. It now remains for the recent conquerors of the Philippines to "take up the white man's burden" there. Another weakness in Spanish, as in Portuguese, colonization is that of proselytism. This is fatal. To colonize on the plea of *religion* is apt to lead to conversion by force of arms, which is but another phrase for religious persecution. This principle also finds abundant illustration in the present volume. It is a most fasci-

nating book. The reader finds it difficult to stop anywhere till he has read it through. It is full of thrilling story of Spanish voyage and adventure, and of the most graphic narrative of life in the Philippines; and it will doubtless inspire many an ardent young American and Briton, thirsting for a career, to try his fortunes in those beautiful islands. The book is deserving of a lengthy review, for which, however, we have, unhappily, not sufficient space. It is not only the latest book on the Philippines, but also the best. B.

17. *With a Palette in Eastern Palaces*, by E. M. MERRICK. Illustrated. Miss Merrick's bright and chatty book, the title of which speaks for itself, is the production of a young artist who went out to Egypt and India to paint the portraits of some eminent people there. She had exceptional opportunities in both these countries of seeing and being with the highest society, and of meeting most distinguished and interesting people, and she has made good use of her opportunities, and has contrived with pen and pencil to bring a vivid picture of life and experiences in those Eastern palaces. It was quite a happy idea of the authoress to put her own picture in front of her book, for her charming personality predisposes us at once in her favour. Her literary abilities, although not of so high an order as her artistic ones—this book being her maiden attempt—still give fair promise of better things to come. Miss Merrick does not pretend to describe the countries and the people she visited, but only her personal doings and work there, the men and women with whom she was thrown into contact, and whose portraits she painted, and the impressions they made upon her. Her descriptions are very interesting.

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; LONDON.

18. *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, from original sources, by Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L., etc., author of "The Life of Mahomet," "Mahomet and Islam." *Third* edition. We had the pleasure of noticing this admirable work in our issue of January, 1892, pp. 257, 258. This edition, as the author states, "is a sample reproduction of the *second*. Occasional amendments have been made throughout. But upon the whole it is the same." We can only repeat what we said on referring to the second edition, that "to traverse the better-known paths of Mohammedan history under the guidance of Sir William Muir is a pleasure. He has a thorough grasp of his subject, owing to his deep and diligent research, his extensive reading, and his sympathetic appreciation of Oriental matters, while he holds fairly the balance as an impartial historian." "We commend the work as a clear, full and just history of a very eventful period in the life of the human race."

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#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Indian Currency*, an essay by WILLIAM FOWLER, LL.B. Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, London. An important paper on the whole question of Indian Currency. The author is of opinion that, "like every other people, the people of India need a currency that suits them, and

they have long had it in the rupee and its fractions, nor is there any evidence to show that silver coins have ceased to suit them, nor that they desire any change." He also asserts that, if his argument is sound, the reopening of the mint to silver is necessary, "with such power of treating exports and excise duties as shall be needful for the support of Government finance."

*Persian Women and their Creed*, by MARY R. S. BIRD, C.M.S. Missionary in Persia (London: Church Missionary Society). A pleasantly written description of missionary efforts, especially among the women of Persia, the habits and customs of the country, and the progress of the mission, with many interesting and well-executed illustrations.

*The Wooing of Nefert; being the Chronicle of Mena of Memphis*, by H. H. WARNER, author of "Songs of the Spindle," etc. (N. I. Powell and Co., Limited, London). A love-story, charmingly told, in the simple language of the East, on the Nile, 3,000 years ago, and in ancient Memphis and Thebes, well printed, with interesting illustrations. The reader, when he begins, will be so fascinated that he will not rest until he has reached the end of the story.

*Bartholomew's New Map of Australia* (John Bartholomew and Co., Edinburgh). Although this is a reduced Survey map of the whole of the vast region of Australia, it is on a large scale, distinct, and remarkably well executed. It also contains plans of the five capital towns, and a portion of New Guinea.

*Descriptive Atlas of Western Canada, showing Maps of the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia, and Districts of Assiniboia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, also of the World and the Dominion of Canada*. Issued by the authority of the Minister of the Interior, the Hon. Clifford Seton, Ottawa, Canada, with letterpress descriptions of the various Provinces and their form of government. A very useful and handy atlas of the whole region of Canada, containing also a list of the various towns, with sketches of farms and agricultural industries.

*Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire, comprising also Maps of Parts of Asia and of the New World connected with European History*, edited by REGINALD LANE POOLE, M.A., PH.D. Part XXII. contains Central Europe, 1795-1810, by H. A. L. FISHER, M.A., and the Four Eastern Patriarchates, by E. W. BROOKS, M.A. (The Clarendon Press, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and New York; also W. and A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.) This work was projected some years ago, and is the first work of its kind in England. It combines clearness of presentment with fulness of details, contributed by eminent English authorities, and will be most useful to students of history.

*Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, Vol. III., 1615. Edited by WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A. Published under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India. London; Sampson Low, Marston and Co.

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We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental



Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales, Revue de Politique extérieure* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*The Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (Arnold and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*The American Weekly, Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*;—*The Strand Musical Magazine, The Navy and Army, and Country Life*;—*The Land of the Midnight Sun* (Parts VI.—XII.);—Hans Andersen's *Fairy Tales* (Parts I.—XIV.);—*The Wide World*;—*The Monster Table Book*;—*The Monster Cricket Book*;—*The Monster Holiday Book*;—*Fashions and Fancies*;—*Woman's Life*;—*The Captain, a magazine for boys and "old boys"* (Parts I.—IV.);—*Through the Dark Continent* (Parts I.—XIII.);—*The Royal Atlas of England and Wales* (Parts I.—VIII.);—*The Arabian Nights* (Parts I. and II., to be completed in 20 parts);—*The Book of Cricket* (Part I.);—*The North American Review*, April to June, 1899 (New York);—*The American Journal of Semitic Sciences and Literatures* (Vol. XV., No. 3), continuing "Hebraica" (The University of Chicago Press, and Luzac and Co., London);—*China, Anglo-America, and Corn*, a lecture by MR. GRANVILLE SHARP (Hong Kong Daily Press Office);—*The Currency Schemes of Lord Northbrook and Mr. Lindsay, and the Locating of the Gold Reserve*, opinions of the Indian Press (*The Pioneer Office, Allahabad*);—*Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force*, by M. A. STEIN, PH.D. (Panjáb Government Press, Lahore, 1898);—*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, for the Year ending June 30, 1898* (Government of Bombay, General Department);—*Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, 1897, Vol. XXXV.* (Government Central Press, Bombay, 1898);—*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1898);—*The Unity of the Human Species*;—*A Study of the Omaha Tribe*;—*The Import of the Totem*;—*Recent Research in Egypt*;—*A Preliminary Account of Archaeological Field Work in Arizona in 1897*;—*A New Group of Stone Implements from the Southern Shores of Lake Michigan*, all reprinted from the Smithsonian Report for 1897 (Washington Government Printing Office, 1898).

For want of space, we regret that we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society, edited by Dr. JAMES MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Parts, Heel—Hod; Hod—Horizontal. Vol. V. (Clarendon Press, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and New York.) *Genesis des Mahābhārata*, von JOSEPH DAHLMANN, S.I. (Berlin: Verlag von Felix L. Dames.) *Les Grandes Com-*

*pagnies Coloniales Anglaises du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, par EDMOND CARTON DE WIART. British North Borneo (1881), Niger Company (1886), British East Africa Company (1888), British South Africa Company (1889). (Librairie Académique, Perrin and Co., Paris.) *The Second Afghan War, 1878-80: its Causes, its Conduct, and its Consequences*, by COL. H. B. HANNA. Vol. I. (Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster.) *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, by STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London; Heroes of the Nations Series.) *China and the Chinese*, by EDMUND PLAUCHUT, translated and edited by Mrs. Arthur Bell, with illustrations. (Hurst and Blackett, London.) *Lord Clive: The Foundation of British Rule in India*, by SIR ALEXANDER JOHN ARBUTHNOT, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (T. Fisher Unwin, London; Builders of Greater Britain Series.) *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Moral*, by SIR ALFRED C. LYALL, K.C.B., D.C.L. First and Second Series. (John Murray, London.) *The Founding of South Australia, as recorded in the Journals of Mr. Robert Gouger, First Colonial Secretary*, edited by EDWIN HODDER. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London.) *The Excellence of Zoroastrianism* (the religion of the Parsis), by ARDESHIR N. BILIMORIA and DINSHAH D. ALPAIVALA. (Parsi Orphanage Captain Printing Works' Bombay.) *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about B.C. 2200, to which are added a Series of Letters of other Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, by L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A. Vol. I. Introduction and the Babylonian Texts. (Luzac and Co., London; Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series.) *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. (Macmillan and Co., London and New York, 1899.)

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

**INDIA : FRONTIER.**—Owing to the peaceful state of affairs on the Chitral frontier, the despatch of reliefs to that place was countermanded. Numerous raids and counter-raids continue to be made by the Turis and their Afghan neighbours at the head of the Kuram Valley.

In consequence of outrages committed by Pathans, notably the murder of Colonel Le Marchant, the Government ordered the disarmament of the Peshawar Division as to pistols and daggers; the disarmament of all trans-border Pathans at the frontier, and of all persons, not possessing licenses, in all municipalities and cantonments within the division.

It has been decided that the Khaibar Rifles shall consist of two battalions of 600 men each, eight of the twelve companies being selected from the Pass Afridis, and four from the Shinwari, Adam-Khel, and other tribesmen. The force will be commanded by a British officer.

**GENERAL.**—A severe type of influenza prevailed at Simla in April and May. The Viceroy, Lady Curzon, and many officials were attacked.

The celebration of the Queen-Empress's birthday was observed in all parts of India. Prayers and thanksgivings were offered in the temples and mosques of all sects and shades of religious opinion.

There is a marked decrease in the plague mortality in the Presidencies of Bombay, Karachi, and Calcutta. A few cases occurred at Madras, but Bangalore is entirely free.

A strike of native signalmen occurred in May, on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Inconvenience was occasioned for a time, but the strikers being dismissed, their places were at once filled by new men.

Riots have occurred in the neighbourhood of Travancore, between Maravars and Kullars on the one hand, and Shanars on the other.

**NATIVE STATES.**—The marriage of the minor Maharajah of Vizianagram with the daughter of Thakur Surajbakhsh Singh, a leading taluqdar of Oude, was celebrated at Kasmanda with great rejoicings.

**BURMA.**—At the end of April the delimitation of the southern section of the Burmo-Chinese frontier was completed to the Salween. Great progress is being made on the Keng-tung frontier.

The result of the Yun-nan Company's survey operations shows the feasibility of extending the Burma railway to Lu-chan in Szuchuan, a distance of about 1,000 miles from the proposed terminus of the Mandalay-Salween Railway.

**AFGHANISTAN.**—The relations between the Amir and the Indian Government continue to be cordial. The latest news reports that the Amir is in his usual health.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—The Mittualis of Tyrus in Palestine have petitioned the Sultan against the systematic administrative injustice under which they suffer. The Mittualis are Shiites, numbering about 100,000 in Palestine and Syria.

The Porte has arranged with the Administration des Phares, to build

and administer on Government account four lighthouses off the Arabian coast in the Red Sea.

The situation in Yemen is worse than at the outbreak of the revolution. Abdullah Pasha, the Turkish commander, was forced to retire, his force having been reduced to 2,000 men from scarcity of food, disease, desertion, and Arab night attacks.

PHILIPPINES.—Hard fighting has occurred between the American forces and the Filipinos. General Otis has declared that peace can only be brought about by the surrender of the insurgents.

SAMOA.—The High Commissioners appointed by the Great Powers to restore tranquillity, arrived at Apia about the middle of May. Considerable success has attended their efforts. Disarmament and disbandment of the natives, the voluntary resignation of the kingship by Malietoa and Tanu, and the concurrent abolition of the kingly office by the Commissioners, have taken place. Outward peace has been restored.

CHINA.—An agreement has been concluded between the Governments of Russia and Great Britain in regard to their respective interests in China. It settles the dispute as to the Niu-chwang Railway concession, and provides against mutual interference with each other's enterprises of a similar nature in future. Both Powers agree to uphold the integrity and independence of China.

The Russian demand for a concession for a railway connecting Port Arthur with Peking has caused considerable excitement. The Chinese Government is said to have informed the Russian Minister that it is unable to grant the demand, basing the refusal on a circular of last autumn, in which it was intimated that no more concessions could be granted till the lines already sanctioned were in working order.

On account of an attack by Chinese soldiers on the British in Kaulung, the city was taken possession of on the 16th May by a British force which disarmed the garrison and then returned to Hong Kong, leaving 50 Fusiliers to hold the place. The Chinese made no resistance.

The French Minister has demanded 1,200,000 taels, and mining rights around Chun-kiang, as an indemnity for outrages on French missions in Szu-chuan.

The preliminary contract for the Anglo-German Tien-tsin-Chin-kiang Railway loan was signed on May 18th. The amount is £7,400,000, with interest at 5 per cent.

A British steamer has been attacked by pirates on the West River, and \$7,000 of money and property carried off.

JAPAN.—The total foreign trade of Japan last year amounted to £45,249,039, of which the imports were £28,304,743, and the exports £16,920,694, being an increase on 1897 of nearly five and a half millions in imports, and quarter of a million in exports.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—Mat Salleh, having raided Tambunan village, killing some inhabitants, and carrying off cattle, the villagers, in revenge, destroyed Mat Salleh's stronghold during his absence.

EGYPT.—The receipts of the Suez Canal Company in 1898 amounted to 87,906,000 francs, which is in excess of any previous year.

Several cases of bubonic plague having occurred at Alexandria, vigorous preventive measures have been adopted.

SUDAN.—In April last Lord Kitchener visited Berber by a camel ride of 800 miles through Eastern Sudan. He found the country ruined. The people were everywhere thankful for their release from Dervish rule.

The Sudan is now thrown open to traders and others, without restriction. Foreign goods may enter free, subject to a small registration fee, levied at Wady Halfa. A tax of 20 per cent. is imposed on products of the country itself. Europeans are free to acquire land.

The health of Omdurman has greatly improved.

The Khalifa is reported to have gone south towards the Dar Tagalla Mountains.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—Lieutenant-Colonel Evatt defeated Kabarega on the east bank of the Nile on April 9th last. Three hundred of the enemy were killed, and Kabarega and Mwanga taken prisoners.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. Rhodes has accepted the Presidency of the South African League.

TRANSVAAL.—President Kruger opened the session of the Volksraad on May 1st at Pretoria. A conference took place early in June at Bloemfontein between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger. The result was fruitless. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply to Sir Alfred's despatch, has explained the principles which the Government has accepted for its guidance in its dealings with the Transvaal, viz.: "It cannot remain indifferent to the complaints of British subjects resident in other countries, and if these are found to be justified, the Government are entitled to make representations with a view to securing redress; and having regard to the position of Great Britain as the Paramount Power in South Africa, and the duty incumbent on them to protect all British subjects residing in a foreign country, cannot permanently ignore the exceptional and arbitrary treatment to which their fellow-countrymen and others are exposed, and the absolute indifference of the Government of the republic to the friendly representations which have been made to them on the subject."

RHODESIA.—The first sod of the Northern Extension Railway was turned at Bulawayo on June 1st.

The new Legislative Council was opened at Salisbury on May 15, when the Administrator announced several domestic measures.

NATAL.—The Colonial Parliament was opened on May 11 by the Governor, who described the state of affairs within the colony as very satisfactory, and said there was evidence of contentment among all classes. The balance of revenue over expenditure in the current financial year is estimated at £150,000, and the cash balance at £730,000. The ordinary revenue for the next financial year is estimated at £2,099,855, and the expenditure at £2,073,332. The expenditure from the loan fund is placed at £1,011,225.

General Sir W. P. Simmons, the new Commander of the Natal forces, arrived at Durban from India on June 21st, and proceeded immediately to the military headquarters, Pietermaritzburg.

WEST AFRICA.—Fighting has occurred in the Benin *Hinterland* between

Major Carter's expedition and the chiefs Ologboshi and Abohun. Lieutenant Uniacke, 19th Hussars, is reported to have been killed.

THE SIERRA LEONE Government Railway was opened on May 1 by Major Nathan, the acting Governor. The present terminus is at Songo Town, a distance of 32 miles.

MOROCCO.—Kaid Gilooli's troops having attacked the tribes in Sus, and looted the property of European merchants, the damage is estimated at £20,000. The Legations interested are making representations to the Sultan with a view of obtaining compensation.

CANADA.—The Dominion Government, in order to assist in the naval defence of the Empire, has proposed to train annually 1,000 Canadian fishermen, who would subsequently be drafted to warships for two seasons' drill of 4 months each.

The British Government have decided to contribute the full subsidy, which they have been recommended by the Pacific Cable Committee to guarantee, for an all-British cable from Vancouver to Australasia. Great dissatisfaction has been expressed at the action of the Imperial Government in receding at the last moment from the plan of joint ownership of the cable. The Dominion Government will press its proposals in Parliament.

During the last financial year the revenue amounted to \$40,000,000, giving a surplus of \$1,720,000; there was, however, an addition to the debt of \$2,500,000. For the current fiscal year the revenue is estimated at \$46,600,000, and the expenditure at \$42,000,000, leaving a surplus of \$4,600,000. After devoting \$2,350,000 to the sinking fund, and expending over \$8,500,000 on railways and canals, only \$1,700,000 would be added to the debt.

A temporary arrangement has been concluded in regard to the Alaska boundary question, pending the re-assembling of the Anglo-American Commission next month.

Dawson City was destroyed by fire in April last. The damage is estimated at above \$4,000,000. No lives were lost.

AUSTRALASIA.—The gold production for 1898 was 3,154,000 oz., showing an increase of 565,000 oz.

VICTORIA.—The death of Mr. Service, the ex-Premier, is deplored by all classes. In creating the Federal Council he initiated the practical work of Federation.

Federation.—The *referendum* was taken on June 20th throughout NEW SOUTH WALES. The latest returns showed 101,200 votes in favour of, and 79,634 against the Bill. Voting in the other colonies is in progress. The Home Secretary has cabled his congratulations to New South Wales. It is now fully expected that the union of Australia will soon be completed, but it will scarcely be possible that a "Federal Enabling Bill" can pass through the Imperial Parliament till early next session.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded this quarter of:—General G. W. Powlett Bingham (Persian Expedition 1856-57, Mutiny campaign);—General T. Thompson, I.S.C. (Karnul 1839);—Surgeon-Major G. C.

Wallich (Sutlej 1842, Panjáb 1847, Sonthal rebellion 1855-56);—Colonel J. R. S. O. Hewitt, R.A. (Burma 1885-86);—Sir Monier Williams, K.C.I.E., a great Sanscrit, Bengali, and Telegu scholar;—Brigade-Surgeon D. F. de Hodgson, M.D., R.H.A. (Sikkim, Zulu war 1879);—Mr. Almaric Rumsey, Professor of Indian Jurisprudence at King's College;—Major-General C. Grant (Indian Political Dept.);—The Hon. J. Service, ex-Premier of Victoria;—General Sir John Field, K.C.B. (Afghan and Sind campaigns 1841-44, Mutiny, Abyssinia 1867-68);—General Sir C. G. Arbuthnot (Crimea, Afghan war 1878-80, Burma 1887);—Lieut.-Colonel T. S. St. Clair (Perak expedition 1876, Egypt 1882);—Captain S. Apthorp (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major-General W. Dowell (Sonthal campaign 1855, Mutiny campaigns);—Colonel Sir Robert Warburton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (Abyssinia 1867-68, Utman Khel expedition 1878, Afghan war 1878-80, Tirah 1890; for 18 years political officer in charge of the Khaibar Pass);—Major-General J. W. Barnes (Kaffir wars 1846-47 and 1851, Mutiny campaign);—Professor Kiepert, a distinguished geographer;—Colonel C. J. Ellis, late R.M.L.I. (Kaffir war 1846-47, Crimea, China 1857-60);—General R. D. Ardagh, Madras S.C., retired (Burma 1852);—Major-General Sir J. Alleyne, K.C.B. (Red River expedition 1870, Zulu campaign 1879, Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Major H. W. Priestley, 42nd Gurkhas, at Shillong;—General A. Ritherdon, Madras S.C. (Burma 1852-53);—Lieut.-Colonel H. J. King (China 1860);—Captain J. P. Pipon, R.N. (Perak River 1875-76, Egypt 1882, Burma 1885-86);—Mr. E. H. Richards, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast;—Lieut.-General Viscount Kawakami Soroku, Chief of the Japanese General Staff;—Lieut. N. F. Uniacke, Niger Coast Protectorate Force (killed in Benin *Hinterland*);—Lieut.-Colonel A. H. Muir, Acting Resident in Nepal (Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Major-General A. Elderton, late Bengal S.C. (Panjáb 1848-49);—Colonel J. L. W. Nunn (Burma 1852, Oude 1858-59);—Colonel Sir G. A. de H. Larpent (Kaffir war 1877-78, Zulu war 1879);—Captain Maurice Bell (Militia), Congo Free States;—Colonel the Hon. A. B. de Montmorency, R.A. (Mutiny campaign);—Colonel B. R. Whitaker, late Bombay S.C. (Persia 1856-57);—Captain R. F. C. Baker (Burma 1892);—Major-General W. D. Gossett, R.E.;—Major-General Sir C. Alexander (Crimea);—Lieut.-General F. A. Willis, C.B. (Mutiny);—General E. M. Playfair (Burma 1853, Mutiny campaign);—Sir Melmoth Osborn, K.C.M.G., formerly British Resident in Zululand;—Major the Hon. A. S. Hardinge (Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1881, Burma 1885-87, Lagos 1892);—Mr. Cockburn Stewart, C.M.G., Administrator of the Seychelles;—Colonel T. S. Gildea (Afghan war 1878-79);—Major-General H. Wallace, C.B., late R.H.A. (Abyssinia);—Major R. G. Godson (Zulu war 1879);—Mr. A. R. Hay, formerly of the Nyasaland Administration;—Deputy-Surgeon-General W. R. Lane (Egypt 1882);—Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Nicolay, I.S.C. (Chin-Lushai campaign 1889-90);—Lieut.-Colonel A. Munro (Crimea);—Major F. S. Schomberg, late 57th Regt. (Crimea, New Zealand 1864-66, etc.).

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THE PRESBYTERIAN AND WESLEYAN USER  
OF GOVERNMENT CHURCHES IN INDIA.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

It may fairly be suspected that when on the 20th of last April from the snowy heights of Simla, Lord Curzon proclaimed new rules in avowed "supersession" of those made only in June last year by Lord Elgin anent the use by Presbyterians and Wesleyans of what are called Government Churches in India, His Excellency had no clear presage of the rankling sense of injustice which his act would produce on the mind of Scotland. The new regulation issued by the Ecclesiastical branch of the Home Department gives no reasons for the serious changes made, curtailing the privileges of non-episcopalian communities of Christians; whereas in widening the then bounds of religious equality, Lord Elgin gave plain utterance to his regret that inquiries had shown that the Kirk of Scotland had substantial grounds for the complaint it made in 1896 by a deputation to the Secretary of State. Since Lord Curzon passed his orders, a question has been put in Parliament, in answer thereto Lord George Hamilton said he meant to uphold them and abide by them, which solemn resolve, being contrary to the protests of the General Assembly of the Church and the common and ancient sentiment of the northern Kingdom faithfully expressed in the journals of the day, awakens



fresh interest in the arguments against the new Viceroy's backsliding rules.

The Scottish view of the matter comes out very clearly in the debate of the Assembly, reported in the *Scotsman* of the 27th May. That patriotic newspaper, though usually a supporter of the present Government, adopts in this crisis the line of reasoning of the evangelical divines. It points out the Military Regulation which divides soldiers simply into Protestants and Roman Catholics, placing Presbyterians and Wesleyans as well as Church of England men under the former time-honoured name. It is jealous of the rights of the Scottish Church, for in its view "the Church of England is the State Church in England, but in India it is no more the State Church than is the Church of Scotland. The rights of the one, these obnoxious regulations apart, are equal to the rights of the other." No wonder then that "the sweet serenity even of Principal Story is ruffled" when he declares that Lord Curzon's order "puts the Church of Scotland under the Metropolitan, who after all is only the senior chaplain of the English Church on the Bengal establishment." In the eyes of the Reverend Principal the stress laid by Lord Curzon on the ceremony of consecration of buildings as a peculiar devotion of them to Episcopalians, so as to elbow out Presbyterians and Wesleyans, is without warrant of any statute in force in our Indian Empire, and therefore tantamount to "a disgraceful usurpation of power, an engine of proselytism." During the debate a letter was read by the Rev. Dr. Mitford Mitchell from a lady in India, a daughter of the Scottish Church, about the treatment of the Gordon Regiment on the first Sabbath after their return to India, fresh from the heights of Dargai. For them the consecrated church closed its holy doors. The careful Colonel feared the heat of the sun on his men's heads and forbade divine service in the open air. Then they tried the Station Theatre, which was found to be out of order, and later in the day these proud but religious warriors met to worship the God of their fathers in a small

barrack room. Seizing on this scene, Dr. Story exclaims : " Was it fair that the Scottish soldiers and their wives and children in a climate such as India should be forced to worship under the open sky, as sometimes had happened, or in a disused theatre, or in a riding-school or in a crowded little room called a prayer meeting room, not adapted for public worship in a hot country ?" The need of some excuse for such treatment being manifest, an extraordinary suggestion seems to have been made somewhere, by somebody, that the Act of Uniformity forbids any services outside those of the Church of England in any building in Bengal once consecrated. But then it must be noticed that no lawyer has yet even mooted that opinion, nor has the Government ever hinted that this Statute extends to India ; while the edicts of all the Viceroys assume a legal right to deal with the use of all buildings at their discretion, and the Bishops have acquiesced. Moreover Dr. Marshall cited to the Assembly an opinion of Dr. Lushington, a great ecclesiastical lawyer, that in India the ceremony does not shut out the services of other religious bodies as it does in England under the Act just mentioned. If there is no law to act as beadle or bar against Presbyterian worship, the Viceroy in Council is as free to open the doors of the churches as the Bishops or the churchwardens were in those old times when the Geneva ritual and doctrine were ordained in the English polity. The influence then which has prevailed with Lord George Hamilton or with the Government of India since Lord Elgin left it must be some special form of Anglican religious thought. One speaker took occasion to mention that Lord Curzon's father is an English clergyman, which circumstance he connected with Bishop Welldon's first act, his getting himself put in the place of such impartial lay personages as Commanders of Armies and Indian Governors, as the final arbiter over Presbyterian and Wesleyan petitions for justice in matters of public worship. We are not behind the scenes ; but there is one notable fact which perhaps suggests that some undisclosed adviser has been at work.

If a Governor or a Military Commander had prompted Lord Curzon to alter Lord Elgin's order, the name and the reasons would doubtless have been published, but on these points the solemn document is absolutely silent. The English laity in India are always tolerant; they respect the Scottish nation and its institutions; they give its full meaning to the skirl of the bagpipes when they hear it. Some clerical interference may therefore be suspected, especially as the Colonels and Generals have hitherto worked Lord Elgin's system well. In English garrison towns, as Dr. Mitchell said, the orders are passed by the Commanding Officer, who knows the relative numbers in the different sects. This giving away the jurisdiction to the Episcopal Metropolitan of India was denounced by Principal Story as practically abolishing all equality. The allusions made to the Covenanters show also that the old jealousy of English ritual and doctrine has been aroused. But as we will see later, the new order affects other Protestant Churches than the three already named, and accordingly the lay journalist broadens the issue beyond the bounds of Scotland and the societies of Presbyterians and Wesleyans. Yes, says the *Scotsman*, "the Church must be helped. The cause is the cause of all Scotsmen, and at the same time, the cause of all Protestants who cherish religious liberty and religious equality. In the sense in which religious equality is demanded in this case, both Establishment and Disestablishment men in all the Presbyterian Churches have the right, as it is their duty, to call for it and insist upon it, and give those who have the power no peace till they establish it." The writer obviously points to more questions and debates in Parliament and to the heckling of candidates at the next General Election. For at present the bridge is held and the road barred by three high and formidable officials, to wit, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Curzon, and Bishop Welldon. But Scotsmen have in all generations taken comfort in the retaliatory qualities of the Thistle; and history teems with examples to twine round the national motto, proving

the rashness of any attack on what the nation holds to be bound up with its honour or its religion.

That these two sentiments are closely interlaced may be seen from the theological undercurrent, the Protestant assertion of this spirited debate. Dr. Story claimed the right of user for Protestantism in its entirety, when, seemingly dealing with the Military Regulation, he said it is a curious thing that the Churches are assigned to Protestants. Yet, if we accept Dr. Marshall's testimony, the English chaplains most fierce against Presbyterians, most eager for sole possession of the sacred buildings, are audacious enough to spurn the Wittenberg term, and to deny that they themselves are Protestants. Be this as it may, there is a great deal more summed up in Dr. Story's remark than perhaps he meant. Religion in India in so far as the Crown and the East India Company were its patrons, I mean by sending out chaplains, paying their salaries and finding rooms or building churches, has always been formally and distinctly Protestant. The letter books of the Madras and Bombay factories in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show much Protestant zeal, great jealousy of the Portuguese clergy who sometimes converted Englishmen, *e.g.*, a son of Lord Keeper Finch, and strong endeavours to train up as Protestants the children of mixed marriages in schools under our chaplains. The prevailing sentiment was Puritan, which changed to Evangelicalism under such influences as the Clapham revival. In 1698 William and Mary made the practice of keeping chaplains in garrisons and factories an obligation of charter. These ministers had long been in the habit of reading prayers in some commodious room. But the Charter required them to learn the Portuguese language, with a view, I believe, to baffle the Jesuits, "and to apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company or their agents in the Protestant religion." Soon after this the same set of men tried to build churches to

which both the Protestants and the Company subscribed. What Dr. Fryer wrote in 1674 about Madras has been fairly true of all India ever since—"The English here are Protestants, the Portugals Papists." They had to live together, not separate like those old Jews who would have no dealings with the Samaritans. In Sir James Campbell's Gazetteer, we find the Governor of Bombay in 1687 imprisoning a Portuguese priest and a young Englishman whom he had converted. In 1751 the merchants at the Anjengo factory separated two staunch Catholic Ensigns on the ground that it would not be safe to trust an out-fort to two such officers by themselves. During these centuries divine service was held in rooms and buildings never consecrated by any Bishop, as there were no English Bishops in all India. In many stations up-country this practice survives. The small Protestant community meets together on the Lord's Day, say in the Judge's Court, where the Judge, the Collector or the Colonel reads the prayers, and if so moved gives a sermon from some standard work, carefully chosen by himself or a pious mother far away. I recall that at Dharwar 30 years ago the usual place was the church of the Basel mission, where besides these officers, the German minister would often hold a special service in English, which was gladly attended. In these places, too small for a paid chaplain, the local Judge usually presides over things ecclesiastical. This simplicity of style had some warrant in the letters of Bishop Heber. He doubted whether the Germans had a true apostolical succession; but was ready, if in Germany, again humbly and thankfully to avail himself of the preaching and sacramental ordinances of the Lutheran Evangelical Church, not denying that they are a true Church of Christ. He was doubtful too of the value, in the peculiar circumstances of British soldiers, of the canonical preliminaries of banns or license. Persons of rank got their licenses from the Supreme Courts or the Governor of Bombay; while when there was no chaplain near, the Commanding Officer would marry soldiers on very short notice. The amiable Heber seems to have been a cautious reformer, not laying undue

stress on mere procedures either in the British settlements or among the 40,000 Protestant Christians in the Madras Presidency, the spiritual children of the Danish missionary Schwartz, so famous at Tanjore. I find Heber writing fraternally to the Syrian Bishop of Malabar: "God is a God of peace, not of division."

As he went over a large part of India, consecrating churches, I may also quote his opinion of the Roman See. He warned the Syrian Christians against "the emissaries of the Bishop of Rome, whose hands have been dipped in the blood of the saints, from whose tyranny the Church of England hath long been freed by the blessing of God." Language like this helps to explain the broad division of soldiers into Protestant and Catholic, and for this purpose alone I quote it. I do not find in Heber's Journals any views on the effect of consecration on a building or a burial-ground. His bright and gentle mind would most likely have rejoiced in the law which now allows the Nonconformist ministers to solemnize the burial of the dead in consecrated ground; and where a Burial Board has built only one chapel and avoided the Act of Uniformity by refusing to have it consecrated by a Bishop, men of his stamp would incline, like some Bishops at home, to be satisfied with a dedicatory service, the more welcome to many devout minds because it does not ear-mark the fabric to the sole use of one sect. We are all familiar with the contrast drawn by Robert Burns between the pomp of method and of art and the language of the soul. This sentiment resounds through the history and literature of Scotland.

It is a far cry to Simla, but the Ecclesiastical Department there might do worse than ponder the angry eloquence of Dr. Story when he touches these chords. "The extraordinary thing was that the people who were defending this gross impropriety and misuse of power were the very people who pretended to such deep and pre-eminent reverence for the sacred things of religion. What were the sacred things of religion? Were they the mere stone

and lime of the building, were they the mere furniture of the church, were they mere vestments and instruments of a man who called himself a priest? Certainly not. These things were the externals. It was not the consecration of a building by a Bishop, or by any number of Bishops that gave it its sanctity. It was the pure worship rendered within it, the sacred associations which gathered round it, the desire of those that went there to worship God according to their conscience that consecrated a church. Yet they were told forsooth that one reason for their not being admitted was that some office of consecration had been pronounced within them by officials of the Anglican Church. There could not be a more essentially superstitious idea than that, an idea against which they ought to protest, not only as Scottish Churchmen, but as members of the great Reformed Church throughout the world."

The time, however, for such a protest is not yet. The Indian Government has never yet said that the Act of Uniformity or any Canon Law applies. The very orders complained of assert the right of the Civil Government to use its churches as it pleases. They may conceivably be worked by the Metropolitan and his subordinates in ways annoying to the Presbyterians and Wesleyans; but it would be unfair to foresee any such malign desire. Moreover the state of Indian revenue will prevent the Government from doing what many English Burial Boards have done, I mean building two churches in the same place, confronting each other on different sides of the road. There are no funds to spare; and any plan like this would be watched by the native politicians and attacked in the discussions on the Budget as a waste of public money.

There is much in the Assembly debate which virtually impeaches Lord Canning and Lord Elgin as well as Lord Curzon. In 1860 Lord Canning framed, and the two other Viceroys each in turn re-enacted, the rules that in every case the English Bishop's consent must be got, and that he may withdraw this consent whenever he likes. This does indeed look like trampling on the Thistle, but yet Lord

Elgin allowed it. The Bishop or the English chaplain appoints the hours for the other Churches. But this rule dates from 1860 also. So does that which gives the Episcopalian chaplain the full control over the furniture and over the *hamal* or beadle who sweeps the building, pulls the punka and puts oil in the lamp. It is plain that a humorous Oxford ritualist might easily use these powers in the way of practical jokes. Lord Elgin found out some substantial causes of complaint, and put in his edition of the rules that his Government had noticed with regret that instances occurred when the use for Presbyterian worship of buildings provided by Government and consecrated for the services of the Church of England had been disallowed, and further that in one case the use of an unconsecrated building (a regimental school-room) was refused for such worship. "The Governor General in Council trusts that such instances will not be allowed to recur." This last sentence is minatory, as the whole establishment in India is under him; and the wishes of Cæsar can be enforced, not only against erring chaplains, but also against the Indian Bishops, whose Patents may be revoked by the Crown. The policy of the Crown had been declared to Lord Canning in these words:—"It is most desirable that the ecclesiastical buildings in India should be made available for the purpose of divine worship to the greatest possible extent." Therefore Sir Charles Wood ordered the Government churches to be opened to the chaplains of the Church of Scotland serving Presbyterian troops. Lord Elgin went some steps further. He announced a fact of much interest, *i.e.*, that the number of Wesleyan soldiers has greatly increased, and so he gave that flourishing body of Christians the benefit of the rules. He must have known as a Scotsman how the Presbyterians have always girded at Episcopal interference; and he wisely appointed as Final Courts of Appeal such impartial dignitaries as the Commander-in-Chief and the Local Governor. This saved the religious feelings and the personal self-respect of the two religious bodies who are



to use the consecrated churches. But this avenue to justice is blocked up by Lord Curzon. He sweeps away these authorities and puts the Bishop of Calcutta in their place. The canny laymen of the General Assembly aver that if Bishop Welldon claims to be a liberal and broad-minded man he will renounce the jurisdiction on the ground that his theological prejudices must conflict with his impartiality. The Wesleyan Conference also, we hear, is up in arms. We would fain know why Lord Curzon has done this thing. But there is no answer forthcoming as he gives no reasons. Is this sudden change of policy due to a desire to exalt the Bishop of Calcutta as a sort of Pontiff or Patriarch over all Protestant communions? Is he also to be made Archbishop? When asked the other day to do this, Lord George Hamilton did not give a point-blank refusal in the House of Commons.

We would here put a further question. Lord Elgin flatly declared as follows:—"The power of allowing or disallowing the use of regimental schools and other unconsecrated buildings for purposes of worship rests with the officer commanding the station and not with the ecclesiastical authorities." This statement is not found in the paper whereby Lord Curzon propounds the "supersession" of Lord Elgin's rules. One would like to know if the Metropolitan is now supreme over unconsecrated buildings. This is a matter which touches on general religious equality.

So also does another omission, perhaps in the long-run the most serious of all. We have seen that Lord Elgin levelled up the Wesleyans. He took power also in his rules to apply their benefits to any other denomination from time to time, a valuable earnest to the Independents and Baptists of good things to come. Lord Curzon silently drops this enabling rule without a word of reason, thus shutting the church-doors against soldiers like Havelock and his "saints," against scholars like Carey, and missionaries like Judson.

Principal Story's Protestant arguments ought to help the Wesleyans and the two other Nonconformist bodies I have just named. They will be accepted by such great communions as the United Presbyterians and the Free Kirk, which have no pretext for calling themselves established churches in India. But one may doubt whether the Church of Scotland has much to gain by asserting equality with the Church of England in that Empire. As the East India Company was peculiarly English, of the Puritan City of London, so from its earliest start the Church of England has had the lion's share of Indian Church patronage. The Clapham movement too was profoundly English: and naturally the Protestant Church of England as by law established became the mould and form. Successive Acts of Parliament provide for the salaries, furlough allowances, and even the expenses of the visitation tours of the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, which are charged, as also their pensions, on the revenues of India. Acts of Parliament settle what their jurisdictions and functions are to be. In Sir Courtney Ilbert's work on India, he sets out the Letters Patent of Bishop Welldon's immediate predecessor, which show at tiresome length how thoroughly Parliament has set to work in thus regulating spiritual things in the East Indies. The Crown expressly takes power to revoke and recall; but so long as the Metropolitan holds the Calcutta Bishopric, he has to keep open a spiritual court to try other clergy if need be, including even the other Bishops; and over him again sit the Judges of the High Courts, who are required as a Queen's Bench to restrain and correct his encroachments and errors by means of their writs of Prohibition and Mandamus. He has title and precedence and a seat in the high places. A royal warrant assigns him rank next to the Chief Justice of Bengal, above all other Her Majesty's Chief Justices and Judges, above the Members of the Viceroy's Cabinet. Were he raised to be an Archbishop, English sentiment would favour still loftier rank, if only to impress the

natives ; and official reasons would soon be urged for grants of higher salary and visitation allowances out of Indian revenues. Advantages like these have at all times been due to facts never to be lost sight of. The East India Company was English, the creature of an English Parliament, as its mention of Anglia on its arms told all the world. It was English doctrine and ritual it shipped to the East, along with English iron and cloth ; and it was natural that religious institutions under that sun should expand after English fashions. *Cælum non animum mutant qui transmare currunt.* Less than a century ago the English Church ministry of India was made up of two salaried services without any Bishops or Archdeacons. There were military chaplains under commanding officers who might reprimand them or arrest them for insubordination. At a few civil stations there were, as in the old Puritan times, other chaplains under the civil authorities. In 1814 when the See of Calcutta was erected for the whole of India, Bishop Middleton found only 32 clergymen in this ample area. In a celebrated Memoir written in 1805 advocating a *regular ecclesiastical establishment*, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan tells us that the number was hardly greater than those found in the East India Company's factories in the time of Lord Clive. There were four in the Bombay Presidency, five in the Madras Presidency and three in Calcutta. Six military chaplains in Bengal made up the whole tale. Churches were only found in these three Presidency Towns. At the Presidency of Bencoolen, at Malacca and in the great Canton Factory, there were no clergy at all. The two British Armies in Hindustan and in the Deckhan, lately in the field, had not one chaplain. Buchanan was scandalized by the results. "Marriages, burials, and sometimes baptisms, by the civil Magistrate or by a military officer, are not only performed, but in a manner sanctioned by a precedent of thirty years." Why a born Scotsman should think a civil marriage offensive is not clear to me ; and Bishop Heber took a less anxious

view of these matters. Both were distressed at the general disregard of the Christian Sabbath, which, says Buchanan, was no otherwise distinguished than by the display of the British Flag. Writing in 1836 Mr. James Shore, a thoughtful member of the Bengal Civil Service, makes the broad statement that till within the last 20 years our countrymen in the Indies lived "without a God in the world." He adds an anecdote about Schwartz, who told a dancing-girl that no unholy person shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven. "Alas, sir," she replied, "in that case few Europeans will ever get in." This indifference and vice, partly caused by the infidel opinions then common, explain much of Buchanan's zeal for religious ordinances. The holiness of the Lord's Day had indeed been urged from the earliest times by the London merchants in the Court of Directors. Yet in 1676 the Rev. Patrick Warner wrote to them from Madras that if they knew how religion was dishonoured "their heads would be fountains of water and eyes rivers of tears." Drunkenness and blasphemy, playing cards and dice for wine, singing and carousing at unseasonable hours were causing misery and death at Fort St. George. "They can find time and leisure for these things, but cannot find any time or leisure, for the worship of God, which is exceedingly neglected by all, notwithstanding your orders to the contrary." He sent an "enclosed list" of those young Civil Servants who had often kept him waiting in the chapel for the want of an audience. Like the Bombay Chaplain and Council nearly a century later, Mr. Warner inveighed against the dangers of letting English Protestants marry country-born women of the Roman communion. But let us pass from the profligate reign of Charles II. to the years when George III. was King, when many officers came out to India with their Protestant faith sapped by French infidelity, however untainted by Catholic leanings. Both Sir John Shore and the Marquis of Wellesley advised the Directors to increase the means of church worship. In 1798, after that

very estimable Highlander, Mr. Charles Grant of the Bengal Civil Service, had joined their Board, they sent out a despatch, which the lapse of a hundred years has perhaps wiped out of the memory of Lord Curzon's ecclesiastical department. The Directors say—"We most cheerfully acquiesce in your proposal for erecting chapels in the progressive manner pointed out in the 63rd paragraph of the letter to which we are now replying, such edifices to be as plain and simple as possible, that all unnecessary expense may be avoided." No Presbyterian or other Evangelical Christian can quarrel with this; and it is remarkable that this sanction of simple chapels was based on the same broad views as Sir Charles Wood seems to have stated to Lord Canning, the very reasons which prompted Lord Elgin to invite other Nonconformists to replenish afresh with their piety and devotion these old chapels, most of which have probably been consecrated since the era of Anglican Bishops began. The Directors in 1798 begin in this wise—"Conceiving it a duty incumbent on us to afford our civil and military servants, and all Christians living under our protection, professing the Protestant religion, the means of attending divine service, in which we trust those in superior stations will set the example." Having then by means of these chapels "provided for the due observance of public worship on the Sabbath day" they say they are astonished and shocked at a printed horse-racing account, showing that at Chinsura no less than eight matches were run on one day, and that a Sunday. They enjoin that profanation of the Sabbath be forbidden; and that an hour suitable to the climate be fixed, and all officers and soldiers attend service at the chapel. Orders of this sort had often been sent to the Factories, as in 1754 when the Governor and Council of Bombay were told to be present constantly and regularly with all the civil and military servants. But this despatch has higher interest, as it states a traditional view of the connection of religion and church-going with the public virtue of the Indian services, much relied on by the Government and

Parliament at the time when the present "regular establishment" was set up in 1814 and 1833, after the argument of Buchanan and some of the Evangelicals, that it was the duty of the British Government to convert the millions of India, had evaporated beneath the ridicule of Sydney Smith and the outspoken cautions of those fine old Gallioes, the returned Anglo-Indians, Qui Hais and Nabobs. The Directors wrote:—"It is on the qualities of our servants that the safety of our British possessions in India essentially depends; on their virtue, their intelligence, their laborious application, their vigilance and public spirit. We have seen, and do still with pleasure see, honourable examples of all these; we are anxious to preserve and increase such examples, and therefore cannot contemplate without alarm the excessive growth of fashionable amusement and show, the tendency of which is to enervate the mind, and impair its nobler qualities, to introduce a hurtful emulation in expense, to set up false standards of merit, to confound the different orders in society, and to beget an aversion to serious occupations." Assuming that the present Government shares these views, we may hope that it will keep open those old chapel doors, so that when the smaller communities of Christians meet to sing the songs of Sion in that strange land, they may no more hang their harps on the willow-trees, but, like their comrades in the powerful Church of England, be welcomed to such means of grace as consecrated aisles afford. Such toleration would be in harmony with the present law of England about the burial of the dead, and would tend to keep the Church in India abreast with the national layman sentiment it has always followed, as we have seen in its jealousy of Roman influence when the Stuart Kings were on the throne or when we were in danger from Catholic Powers, and again when, on the flood-tide of the Evangelical revival, it sailed on to "regular establishment" under Bishops and Archdeacons with Parliamentary guarantees.

Presbyterianism has no similar position in the Indian

Empire ; and for even the Established Church of Scotland, the only Presbyterian Church recognised in the Statutes, to assert political equality seems to me to ignore past history and present facts which, however painful to the nation's pride, are part of the irony of events. For above all we must bear in mind that the regular establishment of the Church of England, as moulded in 1814 and strengthened in 1833, is chiefly due to three Evangelical Protestants, who were all Scotsmen. They were closely joined with the Clapham group and deeply intimate with William Wilberforce and the Rev. Charles Simeon. I mean the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, a Calcutta chaplain, Mr. Charles Grant of the Bengal Civil Service, and his statesman son, who became Lord Glenelg. Foremost among these was Buchanan, who came of a pious Presbyterian stock. Influenced by the Rev. John Newton and supported at Cambridge by Mr. Henry Thornton, who got him the chaplaincy, Buchanan soon joined heart and soul in the missionary plans of the Baptists and the Danes under Carey and Schwartz, the examples of his life, the objects of his most glowing praises. Perfervid and audacious, he boldly pleaded that the British Government should at once begin to convert and civilize the Hindus and Mussalmans, whom he painted in the darkest colours ; and for these purposes he planned an immense State establishment, with a well paid Bishop in every large city and a swarm of "rectors and curates." He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that as everywhere "men are ruled virtually by the Church, though ostensibly by the State," five hundred respectable clergy of the English Church, established in our Gentoo cities, would by their influence over the hearts of our Indian subjects, be worth more than 50,000 soldiers, to withstand the dreaded invasion of India by Napoleon Buonaparte. He desired a "religious possession" of Hindustan. He seems to have ignored the lesson which the failure of the Stuart Kings to set up a different form of the same religion north of the Tweed has taught most

Scotchmen. Like Wentworth he was for a policy of Thorough. Half measures, he writes, would do no good. He would "coerce the contemptuous spirit of our native subjects." But he did not really mean to countenance the use of force or torture, or what was done in Scotland by Claverhouse and the Laird of Lagg.

His fancy seems to have been set aglow by the stately and wealthy aspect the English Church often presents to those of his countrymen who accept its holy orders: and his advices, though never yet fully trusted by the men in civil power, must have sounded pleasantly in the Canterbury precincts, round the tomb of Thomas à Becket, and were charming to the ears of those English and Irish Prelates who were fighting to retain the scandalous incomes of the 22 Irish Bishops. See how he warms up:—"An Archbishop is wanted for India; a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his Bishops, of ample revenue and extensive sway; a venerable personage, whose name shall be greater than that of the transitory governors of the land; and whose fame for piety, and for the will and power to do good, may pass through every region. We want something royal in a spiritual or temporal sense, for the abject subjects of this great eastern empire to look up to." But he meant this Pontiff to be kind to Nonconformists, provided they were Protestants, and he would have abhorred any method of pin-pricking the Presbyterians whom he had left. Judging from his writings I believe a sentence in Macaulay's Review of "Gladstone on Church and State" best tells the reader what Buchanan aimed at:—England, says Macaulay, "may set up a Bishop of Patna and a Dean of Hoogley: she may grant away the public revenue for the maintenance of Prebendaries of Benares and Canons of Moorshedabad; she may divide the country into parishes, and place a rector with a stipend in every one of them; and all this without infringing any positive agreement." Neither Buchanan nor even the Bench of Bishops troubled themselves much about the justice of making



the Hindus and Mahomedans pay for this State Church. Gladstone indeed drew the line at the Irish Establishment, and argued to leave India without one; and Sydney Smith had whimsically compared the project with a scheme to provide Anglican lovers of roast beef with a butcher's shop in every Indian town at the expense of the natives. The retired Anglo-Indians, alarmed by the massacre at Vellore, raised their voices against the State Propaganda of the Christian faith; and the shareholders who looked for dividends turned their eyes aversely.

Buchanan's fiery soul passed away in 1815. But his plan of an Episcopal State Church has in its chief outlines been accepted by the nation. In 1814 Charles Grant and other Evangelical Directors, who had seats in Parliament, got Ministers to consent to the creation as charges on the Indian tax-payer of a Bishop at Calcutta and three Archdeacons. So the principle was conceded; and Buchanan saw something of the travail of his soul before he died. In 1805 Buchanan had written to Grant in warm praise of a poem by Grant's young son on the light dawning over India. Years passed away, and in 1833 the clever boy, the younger Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg) was President of the Board of Control.

As a minister of the Crown, he had no great difficulty in forcing those "transitory governors of the land," the Court of Directors, to swallow the erection of the Sees of Bombay and Madras, and to pay for them out of Indian revenue, in spite of their protest that such grants in aid are burdensome to the Hindu peoples. In the twenty years between the Charters of 1814 and 1834, the number of paid English Chaplains had risen to 75, while the Church of Scotland had only 6. Since the Queen took over the direct government, new Bishoprics have been created, partly by private funds; but the occupants of these Sees have been hafted into the State service, they draw Chaplain's pay and enjoy high precedence. The Establishment aims more and more at being propagandist; and several missionaries have lately been

uplifted to Episcopal thrones. The proud priestly aspirations of the quondam Presbyterian Buchanan to accomplish the conversion of the natives by an imposing State establishment are thus tending to fulfilment.

Very different in worldly respects has been the career of the Church of Scotland. Writing in 1720 Captain Hamilton relates :—" In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated but the Presbyterian, and that they browbeat. . . . There are no polemics except what are between our High Churchmen and our Low." As time went on, vast numbers of Scotsmen got appointments in India, especially in the frequent periods when their countrymen happened to preside over the Court of Directors or the Board of Control. So that in the debates of 1814 the group of Scottish Members could declare that the majority of Britons resident in India were Scots, and were therefore entitled to a share of the Chaplaincies. Lord Castlereagh objecting that such legislation would excite the same claims to Scottish churches in other colonies, the amendment was withdrawn on the assurance of the elder Charles Grant (then at least an Episcopalian) and Mr. R. Thornton that the Directors would take care to provide for several Presbyterian ministers. But Scotland had to wait till 1833 for this promise to be made matter of law; and a perusal of Sir C. Ilbert's Digest shows that her legal rights depend on half one single clause, Section 102 of 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, which enacts that two Chaplains at each Presidency must be ministers of the Church of Scotland, ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh and subject to that jurisdiction, but paid out of Indian Revenues. This was virtually a concurrent endowment and certainly a recognition. The same clause also empowers the Government to pay other Christian sects "such sums of money as may be expedient for the purpose of instruction or for the maintenance of places of worship." This was inserted by the Minister in charge of the Bill, the younger Charles Grant, to solace the Irish Members, led by O'Connell and Sheil, who urged that

there were 600,000 Catholics in India against 40,000 Protestants, and that it was therefore the Church of Rome rather than that of England which should be established by law. The debates in Hansard of the 17th and 19th July, 1833, are highly interesting. It was said that all the evils of the Irish establishment of Bishops were being planted in India. All the various views for and against the erecting of a State Church to convert people to the Christian religion appear in the speeches. The Scotch Members battled for their country and were supported by O'Connell on the ground of justice, and by Heber's friend, Mr. Wynn, who said the Presbyterians and Episcopalians were in communion with each other and had no repugnance to attend each other's service. It was vain to contend further against Ministers, supported by an English majority: the two sops contained in Sec. 102 were therefore accepted, and Mr. Grant's measures for creating the Sees of Madras and Bombay passed triumphantly in spite of the Directors' protest.

This was the triumph of the powerful Evangelical party, irrespective of sect or country. For in those days, as Mr. Wynn said, the Anglican and the other Reformed Churches were on brotherly terms, while judging from the angry debates about Roman Catholic claims and the Irish Church, Rome was the butt of their common hatred, the Bishops were thoroughly Protestant, and Ritualism had not reared its head. Catholics and Jews were abused in Parliament in language as arrogant and barefaced as Buchanan employed when dealing faithfully with Hindus and Mussalmans. The frightful jealousy of Catholic expansion had not been fully allayed by the security of the Protestant succession and the Hanover dynasty. The spirit was much the same as in 1752, when the Directors wrote to their Bombay servants to contribute to a plan for Protestant Charity Schools in India for the children of soldiers, and offered to increase the number of paid chaplains from one to three, to preside over the teaching. A large sum was subscribed, and the Bombay

Governor with the Directors' approval admitted orphan girls "so as to provide a supply of Protestant wives for our military and marine, and so lay a foundation for a succession of Protestants to future generations." A study of Hansard and of past history leads to the conclusion that such feeble recognition as our law gives to Presbyterians, Catholics and Nonconformists in India is due to side winds. Section 102 opens a kind of back-door, like what the General Assembly anticipates as regards consecrated buildings. It was a mere petty concession of a powerful ministry to get rid of the heckling and opposition of Scotch and Irish members.

To sum up, we repeat that Dr. Story is justified by history in laying stress on the fact that the fabrics, like the English Establishment itself, are memorials of a common Protestant piety, which led to grants from the East India Company and subscriptions from private purses. The times are changing. But still, Churchmen in India are not Pharisees, neither are they inclined to be unjust to sister Churches; and even if some Ritualists among the chaplains may have to be tenderly dealt with, the views of these few must not over-ride a long-established practice, well suited to the wants of the army, sanctioned by the Indian Episcopate, and pleasing withal to the Presbyterians. What has so long satisfied two great national Churches deserves to be treated by the Civil Power as legal and right, in spite of surmises and insinuations to the contrary, of zealots who forget the maxim, *Communis error, communis jus*. The Government of India, with its enormous control over persons and property, finances and legislation, may be trusted to order things in such a way that the old religious peace, so endeared to the laity in our Indian dominions, shall not be broken over petty matters which hardly touch the common roots of faith and charity. In Switzerland since the Reformation, Catholic and Protestant stand wide apart in opinions. But in some of their towns we find them both using the very churches

where their fathers prayed before the days of Luther and Calvin.

The Church of Scotland is held, by the best men in the Church of England, as a sister Church. The 55th Canon of the Convocation of 1603 runs as follows: "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer, in this form, or to this effect, as briefly, as conveniently they may. Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church—that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world—and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The Ritualists have attempted to make out that at that time the Church of Scotland was Episcopal, but this "shuffle" and perversion of facts have often been exploded.—*Ed.*

## THE INDIAN SUGAR DUTIES.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

WHEN I was Professor of Political Economy in the Presidency College of the University of Calcutta, I had occasion at one time to deliver a lecture on "The Economic Effects of State Bounties as a Form of Protection." I then expressed the opinion, which I have never seen any reason to modify, that "a bounty is an aggressive and piratical form of Protection, for it enables the bounty-fed exports of one country to undersell the native products of another country, even where the natural cost of production in the importing country is the lowest in the world, and where consequently Free Trade would locate that production."

In the spring of 1892 I happened to be stopping at Bangalore, and I was told by some of my English friends there that they were in the habit of buying at a very cheap price, in the Bangalore Bazaar, pretty little cardboard boxes of loaf-sugar, the cubes neatly packed therein, and the boxes showing that they had come from Germany. I was so much interested to hear this, as illustrating the words of my lecture, that I sent my servant to the Bazaar; and, sure enough, he brought me back one of those boxes for a few annas, and I packed it in one of my trunks and brought it home to England. I subsequently exhibited it at a political meeting in North Kensington, side by side with a baby's feeding-bottle, made in Belgium (I think) and bought in Calcutta, as instances of the unfair way in which Indian and English producers are alike handicapped by foreign Protection, encouraged, or at least permitted, by supine or fanatical English and Indian Governments.

The Indian Tariff Amendment Act of 1899, authorizing the Governor-General in Council to impose a Countervailing Duty on the bounty-fed sugar imported into India—"an additional duty equal to the net amount of such bounty or

grant, however the same be paid or bestowed"—shows that neither Lord Curzon nor Lord George Hamilton are supine or fanatical in this matter. They perceive, what I should have thought must be clear to anyone acquainted with even the rudiments of Political Economy, not only that Bounties are a most vicious form of Protection, but also that Countervailing Duties—*i.e.*, duties simply "equal to the net amount of such bounty or grant"—so far from being protective in their nature, are a very necessary part of the armoury of Free Trade. The system of Free Trade under which this country has so greatly prospered for more than fifty years would become a mere farce if we were to sit down quietly and allow foreign nations to establish a counter-system of the blackest Protection—not merely within their own borders, *bien entendu*, but here in our midst and in India—and by that Protection to attack and kill our industries in detail.

And yet the speeches, in the debate of June 15 in the House of Commons, of Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Maclean—two of the most experienced and most respected members of that House—show that there is a vague idea floating about, even in minds that might be supposed to be altogether clear of cant, that these Countervailing Duties, though designed simply to free Indian trade from the piratical interference of Protectionist nations, are in some undefined way an infraction of the principles of Free Trade. That fallacy can hardly survive the exhaustive and closely-reasoned speeches of Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Chamberlain in the same debate; but it may perhaps be well if in this place, before I point out some of the economic results which I think likely to ensue from the imposition of these duties, I briefly summarize the arguments of those two speeches.

Much of Lord George Hamilton's speech was necessarily occupied with the discussion and explanation of the statistics on which the case of the Government of India, in imposing the Countervailing Duties, rests. Those statistics are well

known in their broad outlines to most of my readers in this place. He proved to the satisfaction of the House of Commons the fact, well known to all district officers in India, that the sugar-producing industry there is one of immense importance to the general prosperity of the country, as well as in particular to the land revenue and the canal revenue. He showed that the closing of the American markets, and other causes, had resulted in the accumulation of vast quantities of bounty-fed beet-sugar at Hamburg and other places, which would in the natural course of things be "dumped" on the defenceless Indian market if the Indian Government were unmindful of the interests confided to their care. He proved that the area of sugar-production had already shown a tendency to contract under the malign influence of the German and Austrian and French bounties, and that this tendency, if unchecked by Indian legislation, must rapidly lead to utter disaster.

On this point, which was ably developed both by Lord George Hamilton and by Mr. Chamberlain, I think it is worth while in this place to extract a few figures from the *Return* (181) lately issued by the India Office :

#### "INDIAN SUGAR CULTIVATION AND IMPORTATION.

"From 1884 to 1889 there had been a small and intermittent export from Germany and Austria to India of refined sugar. In 1889, however, those countries began to make a more serious attempt on the Indian market, and the exports from Germany and Austria showed respectively a value of 51,574 and 4,430 tens of rupees. From that date the exports from Germany went on by large increases each year until they reached the enormous value of 1,278,805 tens of rupees in the year 1897-98. From Austria the export of refined sugar was more intermittent, but it reached the figure of 1,044,504 tens of rupees in the same year. On the other hand, for the eleven months of the year 1898-99, the export of Germany showed a very large decrease, the export being only of a value of 415,723 tens of rupees ; while that of Austria remained at much the same figure as that for the year 1897-98.

"The acreage of sugar-cane cultivation in India (not including Native States) has shown a marked decline since the year 1890-91. In that year it stood at 2,758,372 acres, and in the year 1897-98 at 2,675,763 acres, this being a small increase in the acreage over that of 1896-97 ; and in the matter of exports from India to other countries there has been a very serious falling off.



"The following is a comparison of the exports to the United Kingdom and other countries, not including Ceylon, of refined and unrefined Indian sugar, between the years 1889-90 and 1898-99 :

	1889-90.	1898-99 (11 months).
United Kingdom :		
Refined ... ..	82,420	1
Unrefined ... ..	1,168,354	221,816
Other countries :		
Refined and unrefined ... ..	141,693	43,251

"The exports to Ceylon are roughly *in statu quo*.

"The native trade also shows a serious decline. The position of that trade is best explained by the following table :

"INTERNAL INDIAN SUGAR TRADE.

"(*The quantities are given in maunds.*)

	1890-91.	1896-97.	1897-98.
From Bengal :			
To Provinces in India ... ..	225,297	143,203	} No figures.
To Native States ... ..	13,304	770	
From North-West Provinces and Oudh :			
To Provinces in India ... ..	347,243	386,749	344,024
To Native States ... ..	182,623	86,175	57,162

These are the figures for a period that ought to have been one of prosperity and progress, and undoubtedly would have been but for the influence of the foreign piratical bounties. The rapid increase of the population in India, and the improved standard of living in many parts of that country, were alone sufficient to have caused a large increase in sugar-cultivation there in ordinary circumstances and with fair competition.

But when one remembers that the taxation of European countries was actually being applied, on a lavish scale, to a resolute and systematic determination to crush the sugar-refining industry of India from without, and to an endeavour to render unprofitable the immense sugar-producing industry by depriving it of its most profitable natural outlets, it surely

hardly needs the facts and figures (unanswerable as they are) adduced by Lord George Hamilton to feel certain that these causes must inevitably bring about these very certain effects. Even if the Countervailing Duties now imposed by the Indian Government were as Protectionist in their incidence as Sir Henry Fowler affected to consider them, they would still be less harmful to the country than such a wholesale and permanent displacement of trade as that of which they were the only alternative.

But many reasons can be adduced why it is absurd to call these Countervailing Duties Protectionist.

For in the first place, being only "countervailing," they only take away from the bounty-fed sugar the Protection it has actually received, leaving it in precisely the same fiscal position it would have occupied if the bounty-giving nations had never disturbed the free course of trade. Sugar imported from Mauritius or Jamaica will not pay the duty, because it has not received any bounty; sugar imported from Germany or Austria will only pay, as Indian duty to the Indian Government, exactly that amount, and no more, that it has received from the German or Austrian Government with the open and avowed object of enabling it to crush the competition of Indian sugar. In both these cases the most rigorous laws of Free Trade are complied with, only in the latter case the freedom of trade that had been taken away by the subsidies paid by the German or Austrian Governments is restored.

Further, the bounty-fed imported beet-sugar only competes directly with the high-class refined sugars, the highly-elaborated manufactured article turned out by the refineries, that is only consumed by the English in India, and is, at any rate, simply the luxury of the rich. It is true that the bounty-fed sugar, when imported, undersells the indigenous manufacture of refined sugar, and consequently deprives the Indian producers of one of their most lucrative outlets, thereby *pro tanto* generally injuring the producing industry; but it does not directly compete with the coarse sugars that

alone are consumed by the Indian peoples at large, from which it will be seen that, while the continuance of the bounties unchecked by Countervailing Duties would have exercised a progressively injurious effect on the sugar industry of India, the Countervailing Duties can have no protective effect whatever on the vast bulk of the sugar industry of the country ; and the small quantity of high-class refined sugar which alone will be relieved from the unfair competition of the bounty-fed article is only consumed by the English residents and a few of the richest natives, and is not in any sense a " material " that is worked up in any other manufacture, or a food of the people.

Both in the speech of Lord George Hamilton in the debate of June 15, and in that of Mr. Chamberlain on the same occasion, the fanciful notion that a Countervailing Duty is a violation of Free Trade was exhaustively disposed of. Lord George, in dealing with the arguments of Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Maclean on this point, said :

" The two preceding speakers did not seem to thoroughly grasp and analyze the difference between Free Trade and Protection. The essential difference between the two is this, that the object of Free Trade is to try and establish by a fiscal system equality of conditions, equality of treatment, and equality of opportunity for all producers in whatever part of the world they may live, and thus by encouraging production and increasing competition to benefit the consumer, who gets the advantage of lower prices in consequence of the increased production ; and the object of Protection is the reverse—it is to establish inequality, so that the home producer always may have a certain advantage to enable him to compete with others. Free Trade and Protection, therefore, are antagonistic ; they are irreconcilable. These two fiscal systems are in operation all over the world, fighting one another, and the most aggressive form which Protection can assume is the bounty system as associated with the production of sugar. What does the bounty system do ? In the first place, the foundation of the bounty system is the drawing of an impenetrable barrier round the country in which the bounty is given, so that no sugar from outside can come in and compete with the home production. The open door is permanently and hermetically sealed ; and then the door is opened in order that the bounty-fed sugar exporter may go forth and, with the resources of a great system of national taxation behind him, make war on indigenous industries, and on the enterprise of Free Trade nations engaged in the production of sugar. It is nothing more nor less than a deliberate act of economic aggression against the principles of Free Trade."

And Mr. Chamberlain, in winding up the debate, spoke with not less force and clearness to the same effect. He denied altogether that the cheapness of sugar was entirely, or even mainly, due to the bounties ; it was due principally to the reduction of the cost of production. And he then proceeded to come to close quarters with his assailants on the main question at issue. He said :

“Our opponents in this debate, and generally, claim that their principles, which they associate with the doctrine of Free Trade, absolutely preclude the consideration of Countervailing Duties or prohibition. . . . Now, sir, we say, on the contrary, that Countervailing Duties are not opposed to Free Trade. We absolutely deny it, and we allege that bounties are the very worst form of Protection, because they protect the foreigner, not in his own market, for which there might possibly be some sort of justification, at all events in exceptional circumstances, but they protect the foreigner in our market, in which he has no claim whatever to Protection. And we say, in the second place, that cheapness is not, and never has been in the view of the high priests of Free Trade, the primary object of Free Trade, and our contention is that we can counteract bounties by Countervailing Duties, or procure their abolition by prohibition, without in the slightest degree derogating from our character of orthodox Free Traders.

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“I maintain that there is no justification whatever in the writings or speeches of any of the great Free Traders of the doctrine that Countervailing Duties are opposed to the principles of Free Trade. That is a challenge. Mr. Cobden gave two definitions of Free Trade. He defined it as being the abolition of Protective Duties. Countervailing Duties are not Protective. A Countervailing Duty, as its name implies, is a duty strictly confined to countervailing the advantage given by a bounty ; it does not go beyond that, and it does not protect the industry to which it applies. Another definition that Mr. Cobden gave was that Free Trade was to enable the consumers in every country to obtain what they desire in the cheapest—(Opposition cheers)—yes, and the best, market. Yes, but that is not all. That is where you stop. But Mr. Cobden added, ‘at its natural price.’ That is what hon. members opposite have forgotten. They have remembered the cheapness, but have forgotten the natural price. Now, the main object of the great Free Traders was to secure the natural course of production and of exchange. That was the argument again and again elaborated. Their ideal was that each country should produce what it was naturally best fitted to produce, and to exchange it without artificial arrangements. The great Free Traders denounced all artificial arrangements which turned their trade into unnatural channels. They disapproved of Protection whenever it turned labour and capital into operations which might be considered to be artificial and unnatural, and which would be unremunerative under ordinary and natural conditions. But they advocated

Countervailing Duties in cases where it was necessary in order to restore equality.

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"Let us consider this question of cheapness more closely. How much does the consumer gain by the bounties in regard to cheapness? I think he gains very little. . . . Suppose that the cost of cane-sugar is £8, and that the cost of German beet-sugar is £9. Suppose the German bounty is 30s. That enables the German to undersell the cane-sugar. In the first place, £1 of the bounty goes to cover the increase of cost of the beet-sugar. That leaves 10s. which the German producer has in hand, and he may give it if he likes to the English consumer. Is he such a fool? All that is necessary for him is to give a trifle above the cane-price. If he can sell his sugar at £7 19s., he would cut out the sugar which would come in at £8, and all that he has to give away is 1s. a ton. The rest either goes to meet the difference in the natural price between the beet and the cane, or it goes into the pocket of the producer."

It is impossible, I think, not to feel the force of this argument, which, indeed, would go a long way towards the justification of a system of Countervailing Duties for the United Kingdom, a question at which I cannot even glance in this place, much as I should like to do so.

The Secretary of State for India, in his speech on June 15, adverted briefly to some of the results to be expected from the operation of these Countervailing Duties in India. He pointed out that the Currency Reforms now imminent as the result of Sir Henry Fowler's Committee would attract large quantities of English capital to India for investment that had hitherto been excluded by the difficulties of exchange, and he expressed a decided opinion that there was no better field for these investments open than the Indian sugar industry, provided it be kept free and unfettered by foreign Protection.

By the passing of this Act, the freedom of trade considered by Lord George Hamilton, and advocated more or less by every authority, has been actually established in India for the sugar industry, and the natural advantages possessed by the country for this purpose will now have full scope. So long as the European Continental Powers continue to pay these bounties, the Indian duties will divert them from their work of destroying Indian industry; and

they will, during that period, be altogether unfelt in India, or will contribute a little to the Indian exchequer. The Indian refineries, under a system of trade thus rendered absolutely free, will doubtless hold their own during this period ; and when the bounty-giving Powers consider that the bounties have done their work in killing the sugar trade in those countries that are defenceless, and in thoroughly establishing the German, Austrian, and other piratical monopolies in those countries, it may fairly be expected that the Indian refineries, and the Indian sugar industry generally, having been safeguarded during the time of stress by the timely action of the Government, will be enabled by this wise measure to reap substantial advantage from the very attacks that had been intended to ruin them. What will then happen in England, in that inevitable time of reaction, to the "cheap breakfast-table," the jam-making, the confectionery, and the other industries in whose interests we are permitting the destruction of our English and Scotch refineries, and the ruin of our West Indian colonies by the pirates, it is not within the scope of this paper to predict. One thing is certain after the passing of this Act, and that is, that the United Kingdom will then have reason to be thankful that the great sugar-producing and sugar-refining capabilities of India have been preserved, and will be an important factor that the Continental monopolists will have to reckon with, even in the hour of their triumph ; and for that, England and India alike will be indebted to the courage and the prescience of Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Curzon.

## THE INDIAN GOLD STANDARD.

BY L. C. PROBYN.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON's despatch of the 25th of July, and the law which has just been passed at Simla to give effect to his instructions, put the seal on the report of Sir Henry Fowler's committee, and will, it may be hoped, set at rest, at least for many years, the question as to the metal by which the monetary transactions of India are to be measured. Readers of this Review will not be surprised to learn that I hail with complete satisfaction the positive pronouncement that India is to have a gold standard. In 1886 I was one of the few who held that theoretically and practically the right remedy for what was known as the exchange difficulty lay in the adoption by India of a gold standard, and ever since I have urged this view to the utmost of my poor power. It is gratifying to find not only that its correctness has been confirmed by the course of events, but that at last a body of unprejudiced gentlemen, who have had unrivalled opportunities for studying the question, have, as I have always done, put back from the fore-front the so-called "loss by exchange" suffered by the State (which has been generally the principal, and occasionally the sole, argument advanced by responsible officials for the change of standard), and have laid special stress on the fact that "the effective establishment of a gold standard is of paramount importance to the material interests of India. Not only will stability of exchange with the great commercial countries of the world tend to promote her existing trade, but also there is every reason to anticipate that, with the growth of confidence in a stable exchange, capital will be encouraged to flow freely into India for the further development of her great natural resources" (para. 70).

As to the particular manner in which the change is to be introduced, the scheme recommended by the committee and

adopted by the Government is the unlimited coinage of gold sovereigns at the rate of fifteen rupees each (corresponding to sixteen pence for one rupee), gold sovereigns together with silver rupees, the coinage of which last is to continue a State monopoly, being unlimited legal tender. If this result, as the committee anticipate, "in the effective establishment in India of a gold standard and currency based on the principles of the free inflow and outflow of gold" (para. 54), within a reasonable time it can leave little to be desired. Putting it plainly, the result looked forward to by the committee will be attained when people in India as in England find themselves able to use for their everyday transactions gold or silver as may be most convenient to themselves, and when they can rely on the State paying its currency notes, and other obligations, and bankers paying cheques and bills, in gold or silver at the option of the payees. This state of things will not have been reached without that free inflow and outflow of gold which the committee rightly recognise as the true basis of the system they advocate.

The committee devote the fifth chapter of their report to the important question of "convertibility"—that is, to the free convertibility of silver tokens into gold, on which, indeed, the free inflow and outflow of gold and the maintenance of such a gold currency really depends. For though, as they show, our own British token coins are not by law convertible into gold, still, they "possess an extra-legal convertibility, evinced by their being generally and popularly exchangeable into gold" (para. 56). When will the token rupees possess this extra-legal convertibility?

Lord George Hamilton's speech in the House of Commons on the 8th of August is very interesting in this connection. He alluded to two plans "which will undoubtedly accelerate convertibility." By this term he evidently meant not the legal convertibility (whether into English money in London, as proposed by Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Raphael, and Major Darwin; or into gold coins in



India, as thought necessary by Lord Rothschild and Sir Samuel Montagu; or into gold bullion in India, as proposed by myself), but the extra-legal convertibility existing in England and elsewhere, as looked forward to for India by the committee. The two plans he mentioned, to one of which I will refer later on, were, first, a properly-constituted bank, as suggested by Mr. Hambro, framed on somewhat similar lines to those of either the Bank of England or the Bank of France, and, second, arrangements for securing the gold produce of the Southern Indian gold-mines for the use of the Indian Treasury instead of its being shipped to London as at present.

I will not now discuss the question as to whether the committee and the Government were right for aiming at extra-legal, instead of at legal, convertibility. It goes without saying that, while the former involves the State in less risk, the latter theoretically is the soundest, and practically puts the currency on the securest basis. It has the demerit of being new. But as Lord Liverpool says, in his famous letter to the King introducing the present system of British currency, principles of coinage which are new "should not be rejected merely on that account, in case they should be found to be reasonable."

The point for practical consideration is, Will the extra-legal convertibility of silver tokens into gold coins which exists at present in the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and elsewhere, be secured within a reasonable time in India?

The committee lay considerable stress on the apparently analogous cases of France and the United States. Now, in France the extra-legal convertibility of silver into gold cannot, strictly speaking, be said to exist—at any rate, not to the extent desired for India by Sir Henry Fowler's committee. Silver coins, it is true, for all practical retail purposes maintain their parity with gold in France, but it is not a parity which permits of the "free outflow of gold" which the committee so rightly think essential to their

scheme. The Bank of France controls such outflow by refusing to part with its full weight gold coins, offering their creditors, when it is desired to prevent the outflow of gold, either silver, which is useless for the purpose, or sometimes worn small gold, which is almost equally unsuitable for foreign remittance. This state of things was illustrated by the fuss made over the transfer from Paris to London of a few millions of gold during the Baring crisis—a forced shipment which would probably have come naturally if there had been a free outflow of gold. In the United States of America, on the other hand, the outflow is as free as the inflow. Though Lord Rothschild's evidence before the committee, that "he would be a rash man who affirmed that the American currency system as it now stands is on a sound and satisfactory basis," has been confirmed by a resolution passed at a recent convention of the American Banking Association at Cleveland (*Times*, September 7), silver and gold dollars are equally good; for the Government has taken on itself even something more than the extra-legal convertibility of the United Kingdom. The enormous efforts made by the States a short time ago in order to secure the parity of its silver dollars, silver certificates and notes, and greenbacks, with gold are still fresh in our recollection. The Government of the United States, in fact, though only legally bound to convert its copper currency into full standard money, publicly accepted the responsibility of maintaining at par with each other, and therefore with gold, its dollars of every kind. It pledged itself, therefore, indirectly to the convertibility of silver into gold, and it did not hesitate when occasion arose to keep the pledge which had been given. Should the Government of India feel itself strong enough, or, better still, should the Mother Country, with its vast resources, undertake to accept a similar responsibility with regard to the rupee as the token of the fifteenth part of a sovereign—to make fifteen rupees and the fifteen-rupee piece equally good—it would be a more satisfactory, because a

speedier and more certain, solution of the difficulty than waiting for that extra-legal convertibility which is in force in the United Kingdom.

The cases of India and the United Kingdom are not indeed parallel. In India, supposing that gold sovereigns get into and remain in active circulation, they will probably constitute less than one-eighth part of the total circulation. In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, this fraction probably represents about the proportion of the silver to the whole circulation. It will be a harder job, then, to maintain the convertibility of token into standard coins in India than it is in the United Kingdom. And besides (though this is a point not noticed in the committee's report) the extra-legal convertibility in the United Kingdom is very largely due to the facilities which the numerous joint stock and private banks, studded so thickly over the whole country and in active competition with each other, afford their customers for dealing with token coins, frequently at considerable inconvenience and loss to themselves, facilities corresponding to which would not be afforded in India even if the State Bank, suggested by Mr. Hambro, were successfully established.

It is, however, in the formation of such a State Bank that the practical solution of the problem appears to lie, and it is this course which is seemingly favoured by the Viceroy of India and Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Fowler. By means of such a bank would not the Government of India, assisted by the Mother Country, be able to do for the currency of India what the United States of America have—in the face, it seems to me, of almost greater difficulties—done for the currency of that country? The constitution of a State Bank with a large sterling capital with which the existing Presidency Banks would be amalgamated, and to which would be entrusted, under suitable conditions and safeguards, the paper currency of India, might be made conditional on its accepting within some defined but not too remote period the responsibility

of maintaining at its head office, and gradually at all its branches, the money of the Government of India at par with the gold which it represents. Whether, as I believe, this could be done more economically and with less risk of breakdown by conversion of rupees into gold bullion instead of into sovereigns—what consideration the Bank would require from the Government for undertaking the responsibility—what detailed arrangements should be made for giving effect to it—are matters for careful consideration which it is not proposed to discuss in this paper.

In this connection, however, the proposal of Mr. Alfred de Rothschild, printed at pp. 185-187 of Part II. of the minutes of evidence is of considerable interest. His plan is to form a "Bank of India" with a capital of £14,000,000, taking over the Presidency Banks on liberal terms, and undertaking all the Government business, including that of the Paper Currency Department, the notes of which would be imprinted with their value both in sterling and rupees, and would be eventually convertible into either. He would impose on the Government the liability to find gold in exchange for rupees, in the event of the Bank running short, to the extent of £10,000,000 sterling. And he makes the somewhat dangerous suggestion that the Bank should have some share in the profit on coining additional rupees. Mr. de Rothschild proposes to take measures for preventing gold from being withdrawn for the interior, and though this may be necessary in the initial stage of the proceedings, it is most undesirable as a permanent arrangement. His views on this point, however, receive some measure of support from the committee, who are of opinion that the Government of India should not be bound by law to part with its gold in exchange for rupees or for merely internal purposes, and regard "as the principal use of a gold reserve that it should be freely available for foreign remittances whenever the exchange falls below specie point" (para. 59). The rupee, however, should be as good at Lahore as at Calcutta, which it cannot

be if it is convertible into gold at the latter and not at the former place. The primary use of a gold reserve is to permit any necessary contraction of the rupee currency to take place; its use for foreign remittances is incidental to this primary use. In a word, gold should be used for the maintenance of the standard all over the country: if the standard be maintained, exchange will take care of itself.

For, after all, the ability of a State Bank to maintain the rupee at the required gold par must depend on the price in silver rupee currency of gold not merely in Calcutta or Bombay, but all over the Indian Empire. Making the sovereign legal tender for fifteen rupees will of course prevent its ever falling below, but will have no effect in preventing its rising above, that figure in rupee currency. And it is the rise above par of the standard coin (or, to put it more correctly, the fall below par of the token coin) that is to be feared. If a man have the option, he will for convenience of handling and carrying rather take a sovereign than fifteen rupees in silver; but when in addition to the point of convenience he knows (and the natives of India are very shrewd in such matters) that the lump of silver represented by fifteen rupees is only worth ten rupees, while the value of the gold in the sovereign is the number of rupees it represents, he will have a still stronger inducement to prefer the gold, an inducement which appears almost certain for some time, at any rate, to keep the sovereign at a premium in terms of rupee currency in the interior of the country, unless, indeed, the objectionable measure were taken of forcing down this premium on gold by unduly restricting the quantity of rupee currency. But even the power of the natives of India to absorb gold has its limit, and the time will doubtless come when without any undue contraction of the rupee currency gold sovereigns will take their proper place in the circulation of the country. Much can be done by the careful regulation of the quantity of the rupee circulation, but in a country like India the only real security against there being a re-

dundancy of token coins is their convertibility into the standard metal.

It is impossible to secure this convertibility at once, but this end should be always kept in view, and perhaps it may not be so difficult as we are all inclined to fear.

Some twenty years ago the Government of India wisely determined to put a stop to the loss its poorer subjects often suffered at the hands of the money-changers in changing silver into copper and copper into silver. Some people were astonished at the bold steps which were taken of authorizing, in the first place, the receipt of all Government dues of whatever description and amount in copper coin, and, later on, the free issue of silver in exchange for copper in parcels of two rupees and upwards. But the result was simply the disappearance of the discount at which copper coins had previously constantly sold when there was a plethora in the market. The opportunity afforded for exchange was but little availed of. The knowledge that convertibility was possible was sufficient to maintain the parity. One interesting exception, indeed, came under my immediate notice. At the close of the Madras famine in 1877-78 I was able to ascertain that not only did all the copper coins supplied in connection with famine relief and famine relief works come back to our treasuries, but that a very material sum in addition passed out of circulation into our treasuries during the period, a terrible illustration of the disastrous effects of the famine. Of course, it is a much more serious business to undertake the withdrawal of silver not wanted for circulation by gold than of copper by silver. But the principle is the same. When a State Bank finds itself able to promise convertibility, probably under ordinary circumstances but few rupees will be tendered for conversion. The knowledge that conversion is possible—the assurance that fifteen rupees are really as good as a sovereign—will go far towards making people wish to retain their currency in the form in which they may happen to possess it.

It is right that the public should be reminded that whatever credit is due for the present scheme of a gold standard for India really belongs to the late Colonel Smith, R.E., formerly Mint Master of Madras and of Calcutta, who more than twenty years ago advocated very strongly the introduction of a gold standard into India on the lines now to be adopted, but with ten instead of fifteen rupees to the sovereign. There can be but little doubt but that if his recommendations had been carried out his end would have been attained, though not so quickly as he anticipated, and though forcing up the gold value of the rupee from twenty pence, as it was then, to twenty-four pence would have been injurious, I believe that on the whole the carrying out of his plan would have been more beneficial to India than the policy of drift which was adopted. The greater difference, however, between the intrinsic and face value of the rupee would have been bad. As it is, it is an unsatisfactory feature in the present scheme that the face value of the rupee is 60 per cent. more than its intrinsic value. Under Colonel Smith's scheme it would have been 140 per cent. more.

Bimetallists take some comfort to themselves from paragraph 37 of the committee's report, which says that the effective establishment of a gold "standard in India would not preclude India hereafter from considering responsible proposals for an international agreement if circumstances should arise to render such negotiations practicable." Whether such circumstances will ever arise need not be discussed, but should the question be re-opened, the old ideas that India should not participate directly in the supposed benefits of bimetallism, and that a silver standard was good enough for her, though not for the rest of the world, will probably not now receive any support. If there be a bimetallic arrangement, India will only come in as an equally favoured nation with France and the United States.

I do not believe that the committee in the concluding paragraph of their report, from which I have already

quoted, have at all exaggerated the benefits which India will derive from the establishment of an effective gold standard. I only trust that this will be speedily arrived at. The great point of difference between myself and the committee is that, while I have always aimed at legal convertibility of the token currency of India into gold, they are of opinion that the end will be as quickly and effectively attained by extra-legal or, as Mr. Clinton Dawkins calls it, practical convertibility. I hope sincerely it may be proved that they are right.



## INDIA AND THE MONETARY CRISIS.

BY JOHN H. TWIGG.

Late of the Bengal Civil Service.

IN July last year we discussed Sir James Westland's scheme for establishing a gold standard by destroying immense sums of silver coin, and borrowing gold to take its place. We foresaw that those proposals would be rejected, and so it has happened. The London bankers, frightened at the prospect of a sudden export of gold to India, exerted all their influence and compelled the Indian Secretary of State to drop the scheme, just as they forced him to reject what the *Times* called the "impudent" proposals of the President of the United States for international bimetallism. The Secretary, however, would not abandon Sir James Westland's monstrous scheme till he had the opinion of a semi-official committee forced upon him by public opinion. The committee, after long inquiry, reported against the project and recommended little more than a continuance of existing arrangements, with the remark that the establishment of a gold standard is of "paramount importance" to India. That conclusion has been affirmed by the Secretary of State in a despatch dated July 25 last.

It would be impossible in our allotted space to examine systematically the committee's report or the evidence. We propose, therefore, to deal only with some of the more noteworthy points.

The mints are to remain closed against the free coinage of silver and Government will coin at its discretion only so much as will prevent rupees from rising above the value of fifteen for a sovereign. Gold will be bought for rupees at that rate and kept in stock for the present, to be used for foreign remittances only. At the same time, the sovereign is to be legal tender, though not issued by the Indian Treasury except for export.

A most significant feature, both of the report and the Secretary of State's order, is not the contained matter, but the omitted. Not one word is said of the fact that the new Indian gold standard must seriously alter the value of money by increasing both the demand for gold and the reputation of gold money, so as to intensify the scramble for it in every land. This is the fundamental fact of the controversy and the root of all the trouble, whereby the nations of the world in their anxiety have been obliged to meet in repeated conferences, to issue commissions, to destroy free trade, and to upset the whole law of land-contracts in Ireland.

The committee, however, thinks that India will not require much gold and that the quantity needed can easily be supplied by the recent extension of gold-mining. Just at present the production of gold is enormous and has no doubt contributed to the recent rise in the price of goods; but the demand for gold is enormous, and the committee proposes to increase it still further, both by practice and example to other nations, doing all that is possible to make the world dependent for its money-supply on the hazard of mining a single metal. Professor Suess of Vienna, who is accepted as the highest authority on the future of the precious metals, has an admirable paper on this subject in the Volume of Appendices (C. 93766, p. 130).

He points out that the resources of civilization have carried gold-mining to the remotest regions and so improved it as to present the prospect of quickly-failing supplies and "hasten the approach of a universal economic danger." "In place of continued fluctuations," he says, "the whole production of the world tends to unite into one great wave, and consequently to hasten the end and increase the danger." For the near future, he thinks some new discoveries are reserved in the Kuenlun Range of China, in Central Africa, or Siberia; but the necessities of man will go on increasing, and the crisis will come when production begins to fail. "Perhaps America will in the meantime decide upon the

free coinage of silver and, setting up a monetary barrier right across the traffic of the world, will defer the crisis of gold." We make no apology for quoting at length the following conclusion of this great savant's memorandum :

"Germany has loosened the old tie of gold and silver without anticipating the consequences. In the long-run the profits have without merit fallen to the bondholders and the losses without any fault to the debtors. The holders of foreign securities in England are in the first line responsible to the world for the continuation of this state of monetary affairs, so perilous also for themselves. I know well that personal interest is a very strong item ; but national interest is a stronger item and when national interest speaks personal interest must rest silent. But the interest of humanity is a stronger item still, and even if national interest should eventually point the other way, which I contend is not the case for England, the common interest of humanity must prevail. A great nation claiming to be a leading member of mankind must feel this as a duty."

Possibly Sir Samuel Montagu had not read this solemn warning when he said (Question 6644) to the committee, "You would do a service, I think, to Europe if you were to gradually utilize this extraordinary surplus of gold"—that is to say, he wishes to increase the demand for gold. What will America think of such an opinion coming from one of London's chief bullion merchants? though we know there is no one less disposed to think, in the words of Professor Suess, "of subduing foreign nations by giving to each of their liabilities an ulcerating character."

This remark suggests some notice of the political difficulties which may arise when foreign nations understand that we have resolved to do all that is possible to hinder an international bimetallic agreement. The Americans, under careful political teaching, have learned that every nation is affected for good or evil by the money laws of other nations and that under the gold standard the value of money is increased by every new demand for gold, the value being the average quantity of goods which money will buy—that is to say, the price of goods falls and every debtor, except a gold-miner, has to sacrifice unjustly at lower prices more and more of what his farm or factory produces. The bargain, in fact, is altered against him,

and in favour of his creditors by the action of Government. There is thus less money available for wages, and though the labourer can live more cheaply under low prices, and can of late years, by well-organized union, force up wages to the highest possible limit, he is, nevertheless, a loser on the whole when prices are falling, because employment fails in the consequent depression of business. All these things are matters of common knowledge in the United States, and the people understand the evil in store for them from the Indian gold standard. They are friendly to us, but there are limits. It is a mischievous mistake, for example, to suppose, and still worse to proclaim, as the *Spectator* does (December 17, 1898), that we may feel assured beforehand of America's help in extremity, "no matter what the cause of quarrel, or who is in the right." After what we have done in India, the United States will probably act with no special consideration for us in monetary legislation, not to speak of the Isthmian Canal and other subjects of controversy. A self-reliant and straightforward policy is much more likely to be adopted, especially if Mr. Bryan becomes President in 1900, as now seems increasingly probable. His views, therefore, deserve the earnest attention of all nations, and they are well expressed in a speech\* delivered by him at Louisville in last June with transparent honesty of purpose and surpassing oratorical power. He deals with the great political questions of territorial expansion, monopolies (trusts), and militarism, if we may use the word; but he puts the money question foremost, and says:

"I believe that independent action (on the part of America) will force international bimetallism, and that it is the only way that you will ever bring the nations of the old world to an international agreement. When our Commissioner goes over there, it will not be to petition; it will be to announce the purpose of the American people. He will tell them that (our) seventy millions of people have as much right to protect their property from depreciation as a handful of financiers have to legislate more value into the notes and bonds and mortgages they hold. He will tell them that, by the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at 16 to 1, we can maintain

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\* Reported in the *National Watchman*, Washington D.C., June 8, 1899.

the parity between gold and silver ; but he will say, If you people doubt it, just remember that you have a good deal of money loaned in the United States that is payable in coin, and that coin means either gold or silver ; and remember that if we fail to maintain the parity, it will be because you men conspire to make one of the metals cheap, and if you conspire to decry the value of silver—if you conspire to make gold dearer merely because you want to increase the value of your dollar—we will punish you by paying you in the metal you make cheap, and thus give you an interest. Now, my friends, if we do that, we will bring the interests of the financial classes of Europe over to our side, and it is a great thing to have the financial classes on your side. I want to make it their interest to hold gold and silver together, instead of making it their interest to drive these metals apart."

Mr. Bryan might have added, what no one has ever disputed, that the failure of bimetallism would simply place the United States on a silver standard, a result which need not be feared, as it involves but one evil—an unsteady par of exchange with gold as against the immeasurable advantage of steady value which we have seen in the case of Mexico and India (Mr. Stephen A. Ralli, Question 6310). We mean, of course, a high degree of steadiness in the valuation of goods.

Mr. Bryan, being a sound economist, a lawyer and a Free Trader, naturally refrains from a threat of retaliatory import duties against such nations as may refuse an agreement for international bimetallism ; but, if America persists in keeping protective duties, it is difficult to see why they should not be thus used for the protection of money, the foremost item of trade, as it enters into every bargain: Before we have done with Mr. Bryan, we must note his significant adherence to the old coinage ratio of 16 to 1, for it is admitted by all authorities that the establishment of it in America, or even an attempted establishment, must enforce a re-opening of the Indian mints (Mr. Leonard Courtney, Question 13096), and upset the Indian valuation of sixteen pence now fixed for the rupee.

France also desires the old ratio, and though Mr. McKinley, in desperation, may possibly suggest the Indian ratio for an international agreement, it could not be adopted

in the face of such opposition. International bimetallists will therefore do well to decide between the old ratio and a gold standard; for there is probably no other possible choice, and to aid the efforts of Mr. Bryan's party which holds the key of the position.

The committee have omitted from their report another great difficulty connected, like almost all the others, with the altered value of money, for this is the very kernel of the question—"the whole thing," as Lord Aldenham told the committee. We refer to the loss brought upon the natives of India by the fall in value of their uncoined silver, set apart against times of distress. From the semi-official evidence an uninstructed person might believe that the natives either didn't hoard much uncoined silver, or somehow didn't mind the fall in its price. The truth is that few natives know enough to see that the closing of the mints has done the harm. Knowledge, however, may spread, and autocratic Governments should remember that outspoken revelations of discontent among subject races are generally kept back till a commission makes inquiry after some serious tumult. At the same time, we do not believe that this grievance, taken by itself, will ever be a serious political danger. It will merely add to the other great difficulties of our position. The same may be said of discontent among our feudatory native princes, several of whom have been induced to give up their rights of coining money. The official and semi-official witnesses would have us believe that the privilege was willingly surrendered by the chiefs; but persons who know the power, practically though not expressly possessed by the British political officers at the court of every native state, will not accept that view. Such an officer's suggestion, with a hint that it will be pressed, is equivalent to a command, and is obeyed, except in the greater states, with a polite expression of willingness. Who could expect a really willing surrender of what to Orientals is a principal symbol of sovereignty? In every Indian village the coins of the Great Mogul still

remind the people of his power by the legend, "Shah Alam, King, shadow of the grace of God, defender of the faith of Muhammad, struck his coin for the seven regions of the world," and during the Cretan negotiations quite lately the Sultan begged, we believe, for a perpetual display of his sovereignty by means of a Turkish coinage in the island.

The question of hoarding gold coin is important not only for the value of gold money everywhere, but also for its bearing on the difficulties of the Indian gold standard, in which aspect alone the committee has considered the point. They do not attach much importance to it, and probably they are right, for natives will be able to get sovereigns only by private importation, and not from the Treasury ; consequently hoarding will encroach only on the world's stock of gold, and not specially on the Indian Treasury's stock of it. Nevertheless, we believe the hoarding of sovereigns will largely increase in time, since they are now legal tender, and small in bulk—a great matter, especially when secrecy and haste are required, as was the case, we understand, when the collection of baggage animals and drivers throughout Northern India showed the natives that war with Russia was imminent after the Panjdeh incident. On that occasion it was reported that the natives in some districts commenced to bury their ornaments. Even native gold coins are largely hoarded, though they are not legal tender nor are their weight and proportion of alloy so well assured as in the case of sovereigns. The committee did not take complete evidence on this part of the question, or they would probably have found that, though sovereigns will in the course of time be largely imported by private agency and hoarded, there are strong reasons for thinking that these coins will not be melted down for goldsmith's work. The alloy in the sovereign (one-twelfth) makes it not only difficult to work, but very offensive to native taste, which will accept only the pure metal. It is true that any village goldsmith could remove the copper alloy of sovereigns by hammering

them thin and repeatedly heating them, or by cupellation with the mouth blow-pipe. Many goldsmiths and refiners of gold-refuse (nyarias) can even manufacture nitric acid by heating sulphate of iron with saltpetre and so remove silver-alloy from gold; but probably the trouble and cost of refining sovereigns on a small scale will cause goldsmiths to use pure bar-gold in preference to sovereigns.

Professor Marshall, the only professional economist summoned by the committee, excepting Mr. Leonard Courtney, is a bimetallist favouring international bimetallism—at a ratio, however, which would render international agreement practically impossible. That opinion, and some others which we will notice, may account for the committee's desire to hear him, though his great reputation as an economist should of itself command a hearing. Nevertheless, we think, with all due regard to his authority, that it would stand higher if he accepted the view that an ideally perfect kind of money should have perfect steadiness of value, so that the average price of goods might remain steady. Any other supposition, any departure from that clear definition, places our ideal of good money on a basis of great uncertainty—if, indeed, on any basis at all. Professor Marshall thinks, on the contrary, that steadiness of purchasing power is not the chief thing in money, and he even welcomes the fall of prices, which has caused all the troubles of the past twenty years, for he thinks it a blessing to the British workman that the sovereign buys for him twice as much as it used to do.

Professor Marshall should have mentioned that this blessing would have come in the shape of higher wages even if the sovereign had not risen in value. It is better, too, that the workman should receive double wages in money of steady value than the same wages in money of double value—that is, of a value which will buy twice as much goods—for the fall of prices diminishes his chance of employment by depressing business. It is a pity that Professor Marshall noticed this point so briefly.



He commends falling prices for another reason—that, as they mean a higher value for money, Government is thereby enabled to extract more wealth by taxation from the ignorant public, who would give trouble if the increase took the shape of more money (Question 11786). His evidence, in fact, is very largely a protest against any arrangement—such as bimetallism at the old ratio—which would incidentally raise prices some way towards their former level. He calls this inflation, and dilates on its evils, but says little of the disasters attending contraction and falling prices. What we need is to have steady prices and, in order to use the only practical means for that end, we must have bimetallism at the old ratio, reversing necessarily to some extent the past fall of prices. Such an unavoidable rise of prices, even if it were a great evil, might well be justified in Professor Marshall's eyes by the fact that it would be only temporary, an argument much in favour with him and the committee with regard to Chinese competition.

Our view of the whole matter, as explained in July last year, is unchanged. We think that a gold standard, in the sense of a fixed rate of exchange between India and English money, can be maintained by the accumulation of a gold reserve in the Indian Treasury, in addition to a rupee circulation so restricted as to secure in ordinary times an inflow of gold for the Treasury, which will send it abroad on extraordinary occasions, and so keep up to par the value of the silver left in India. About three millions sterling have come already and a few years' further experience will indicate the comparative strength and frequency of movements in the opposite direction. By thus increasing the value of money the Indian Government can manage, as Professor Marshall recommends (Question 11786), to extract in taxation an extra five or six millions sterling, for there is no Bryan in India. Nevertheless we can say nothing in favour of the scheme, except that it is probably the best means of attaining a bad end. It is a creation of the Indian Treasury, and Treasury officials come by force of habit in

every country to regard as their highest aim coffers well filled by any means during their term of office.

As we have said, the Indian mints should be re-opened to silver, unless foreign nations ask for delay pending an international settlement, and the resulting Treasury deficit should be met mainly by increased import duties. India would then again take her place with silver-using Mexico (Mr. Stephen Ralli, Question 26310) in growing prosperity, and unless we are to believe that capital does not go freely for investment to Mexico, a question avoided in the committee's report, we must suppose it would go to India also in spite of a variable exchange.

No one who studies this great question should fail to consult the Volume of Appendices (C. 9037), as it contains matter of the highest value. Captain E. F. Marriott's Memorandum (p. 75) briefly explains the fundamental truths of the case with admirable clearness.

## THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR PERSIA.

BY R. POPHAM LOBB.

At a time like the present, when decaying kingdoms and new continents are the scene of such a commercial rivalry between the Great Powers as has never before occurred, the responsibilities and political activity of Governments and Ministries have greatly increased ; and it is inevitable that comparisons should be made between the various methods and degrees of success with which they exercise their power as trustees for the national interests confided to their charge. The Englishman naturally turns to his own country first ; he knows that she owes her existence and her prosperity to her sea-borne trade with foreign markets, that her commercial interests are far greater than those of any other nation, that her Ministers have the record of centuries of foreign and colonial policy, with its mistakes and successes, ready to hand to guide them, as far as may be, in shaping their policy of to-day ; and knowing these things, he assumes that England's foreign policy cannot be otherwise than far-sighted and essentially business-like. At the present time such an assumption is not borne out by facts. To cite the most recent instance : the rotten state of official China and her consequent helplessness in the face of Russian aggression came upon the present Government like a thunderclap in spite of its unrivalled facilities for observation, did it but choose to make use of them. The House of Commons declared itself in favour of the integrity of China ; our warships were withdrawn from Port Arthur at the bidding of Russia, and the Foreign Office persisted in attaching the same weight to its own protests against the Russian vetoing of British concessions as it invariably had to the written assurances of Russian diplomatists ; Lord Salisbury extorted from the Empire whose integrity was the object of his supporters' solicitude a sphere of influence hundreds of

thousands of square miles in extent, a naval base and the Kowlung extension ; while in the meantime the Government appears infected with that spirit of optimism which Voltaire defined as "la rage de soutenir que tout va bien, quand tout va mal."

Such an instance of political prescience and official energy hardly inspired a belief in the existence of any definite policy as far as China is concerned, nor, if such a policy did exist, in any ability on the part of the present Government to adhere to it, even in the face of open hostility which might and will entail permanent injury upon British interests and prestige in the Far East. The truism that diplomacy rests ultimately upon force is in danger of being forgotten in these days of Peace Conferences and aspirations for the abolition of war. The united pockets of a community provide for the policeman who conducts a wrongdoer before the judge, because, in the present state of society, there are serious doubts whether the criminal's moral sense alone would be strong enough to take him thither after the commission of an offence. The tax-payer ("under Schedule D") also provides for an Army and a Navy, which are simply the police of empire, and competent hands employ them as such. Lord Salisbury's omission to do so in China was not repeated on the Nile where, in the opinion of many who know the country and its possibilities, the measures taken to protect our interests were altogether disproportionate to their value. At all events, the "forcible diplomacy" principle won a belated recognition and that fact, coupled with the summary manner in which the French were treated at Muskat, is as far as it goes a good omen for the success of British policy in dealing with the problem which is summed up in the title of this article.

In Persia are centred British interests which far outweigh those in Central Africa, for through Southern Persia lies the easiest road to India, and for that reason amongst many others, to quote Sir Frederic Goldsmid, "not even

in the days of the First Napoleon was Persia more essentially a part of the geographical side of the Eastern Question than she is now."

The British connection with Persia is one of long standing, and its beginning coincides curiously enough with the earliest relations between this country and Russia, since it was the "Russian or Muscovy Company," chartered by Philip and Mary in 1555, which opened communications with Teheran. Four years later, Sir Anthony Jenkinson visited the "Great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians," as the envoy of Elizabeth, and before 1581 no fewer than six expeditions were despatched by the Muscovy Company to Persia *viâ* the Volga. The leader of the fifth, Thomas Bannister, broached to the Shah a subject which is of absorbing interest for more than one nation at the present day, the question of an overland route to India, but nothing practical resulted. A later traveller, however, Sir Anthony Sherley, returned to England with a very tangible concession in the shape of the Shah's permit for all Christian merchants to trade with Persia. During the reign of Shah Abbas, the English navy first appears in its latter-day rôle of police in the Gulf, one clause in an Anglo-Persian agreement to expel the Portuguese being to the effect that "the English should keep two men-of-war constantly to defend the Gulf." In those days the Russian rulers, especially Peter the Great, were always anxious to foster trade, and to employ English energy and enterprise to that end, so much so that in 1734 the Empress Anne granted a concession to English merchants to carry goods through Russia to and from Persia on payment of an *ad valorem* duty of 3 per cent. Their subjects, however, viewed the pushing foreigners with other feelings; "The Russes are sorie that wee doe trade into these parts, for wee are better beloved than they are," wrote a factor of the Muscovy Company in 1565, and the reason of the disfavour with which the Russian Government views Free-trade and the open door to-day lies in the fact that foreign competition invariably

results in the Russian merchant being beaten out of the field.

The gradual dismemberment which Persia has suffered at the hands of the Czars began with Peter's conquest of Baku and Darbend in 1722, although diplomatic relations between the two countries had been opened more than a century before this date. Some ten years later Russia restored these places, together with all Persian territory, as far as the Araxes, but it was a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter*, since Catherine's death in 1796 alone prevented her victorious army from entering Teheran itself. The respite was not for long, in spite of the Napoleonic wars which convulsed the whole of Europe. Napoleon's keen eye had recognised the value of Persia as a stepping-stone to India, and his envoys at Teheran were busy obtaining the Shah's co-operation in the Franco-Russian schemes for invasion; no less than three were discussed between 1800-1807.

The now-familiar policy of "bolstering" was resorted to by England, and officers were sent out at various periods to organize the Shah's army: Major Christie, of the Bombay Army, who was killed at the battle of Aslanduz, Major Hart, and Lieutenant Lindsay of the Madras Army, subsequently known as Major-General Sir Henry Bethune, who worked up the Persian artillery under Abbas Mirza.\* At that time too (1808), was witnessed the spectacle of Sir Harford Jones and General Malcolm, the envoys of Great Britain and the Indian Governor-General respectively, acting in succession on different instructions and without concert at Teheran, in order to counteract the influence

\* The history of the various attempts that have been made to improve the condition of the Persian army has been briefly given by Sir Frederic Goldsmid in a lecture at the Royal United Service Institution, 1879, and reprinted in the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, vol. xxiii., No. 99. Since 1800 nearly every European nation has lent officers for the purpose—French, British, Italian, German, Austrian and Russian—but whatever good they have done has always been neutralized by the corrupt military administration. And at the present day it is idle to hope for any other result, unless the reform of the government goes hand in hand with that of the army.

brought to bear on the Shah by Napoleon's envoy, General Gardanne.

Malcolm effected nothing ; but Sir H. Jones succeeded in making an offensive and defensive alliance with the Shah, who was pledged to defend India against any European power.

This supplemented the treaty of 1800, but as the former treaty had not prevented the conquest of Baku by Russia in the war of 1804-06, so also was the later treaty of no avail when the next war resulted in the Treaty of Gulistan, 1813, by which Persia ceded half a dozen provinces between the Caucasus and the Caspian, and Russia acquired the sole right to have men-of-war on that sea, which has been a Russian lake from that day to this.\* This was her first great step towards the Gulf. The next followed in 1828, when the Treaty of Turkomanchai closed an almost continuous warfare of forty years, and Russia won the Khanates of Erivan and Nakhitchewan.

The Shah had appealed in vain for the support to which the Anglo-Persian treaties entitled him ; we made no move, and for the third time since 1804 Persia "satisfied herself that England's friendship and promises were of little avail in a pressing emergency."

Since 1828 Russia has held the winning cards in the game, and the history of Persia since that date is simply that of a cat's-paw put forward to snatch Afghanistan, or rather Herat, out of the fire for Russia. It is unnecessary to trace the course of events in this direction, except to note that but for Eldred Pottinger's defence of Herat, which the Persians besieged for eight months at the instigation of Count Simonovitch, the place would have been in Russian hands to-day. Russia's expansion across the Caspian, the seizure of Krasnovodsk, the conquest of the Turkomans and the Khanates, and the construction of Annenkoff's

\* When the late Shah once steamed out of Enzeli on his yacht with the royal standard flying, a Russian gunboat threatened to open fire on him unless it was hauled down, and down it promptly came.

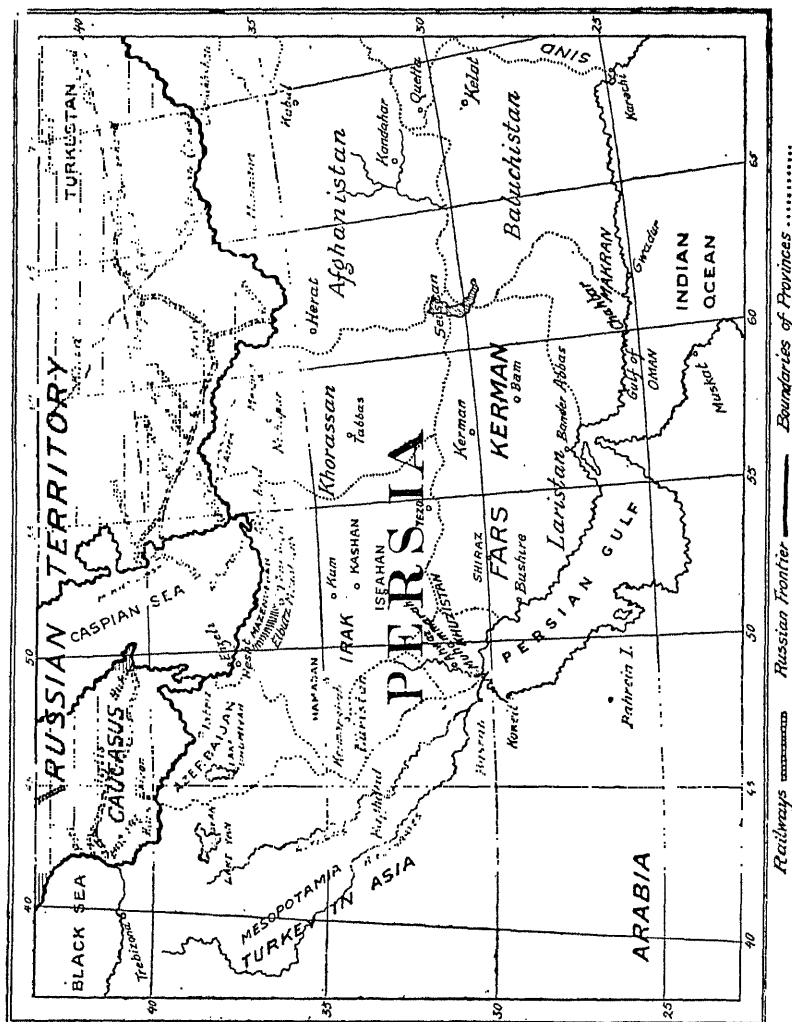
line from the Caspian to Tashkend, are all recent events which have found more than one chronicler. The net result has been to place Russia in a commanding strategical position along the whole of the Persian north frontier, from the Agri Dagh to Sarakhs.

Naturally Russian influence has been in the ascendant at Teheran, for her strength is plainly visible behind her diplomacy. During this same period the British policy has been one of drift, "weak in its conception, calamitous in its results," as Lord Curzon put it. Needless to say we have guaranteed the integrity and independence of the Shah's dominions, in an agreement with Russia, as far back as 1834, subsequently ratified in an exchange of Notes in 1838, 1873 and 1874. What more can a fair-dealing nation do? Nothing has been done to maintain our influence at Teheran, and the conduct of our relations with the Shah has been bandied about between the Foreign Office and the Government of India in a way that betrayed not only lack of decision and want of purpose but seriously prejudiced whatever influence remained to us, for Muhammad Shah took great umbrage at the transference of relations with Persia to the Indian authorities, of whom he entertained a very low opinion after the fiasco of the Malcolm mission.\* Our commercial relations suffered in consequence and it was not until 1841 that a commercial treaty was concluded; up to that time British merchants had no protection other than that afforded by such friendly relations as happened to exist at the moment between the two countries.

The geographical importance of Persia, as Sir Frederic Goldsmid and Sir Henry Rawlinson have pointed out, must be patent to everyone who looks at a map of Asia, and now that Russia is showing how fully she realizes the

\* The Legation at Teheran was under the Indian Government from 1823 to 1835, under the Foreign Office until 1858, then for two years under the Indian authorities, and is now back again under the Foreign Office.





fact it is time to examine her reasons. These after all are sufficiently obvious. Russia has made up her mind that one outlet alone on an open ice-free ocean is insufficient for the needs, commercial and naval, of an empire of her size and strength; she must touch the open sea in as many directions as possible, and the Persian Gulf is not only the nearest outlet for which she can make but also for geographical reasons the only one, and that the best suited for her purpose, between Kronstadt and Port Arthur. Moreover Persia is in Russian eyes the line of least resistance on political grounds; as a military Power Persia is about on a par with San Marino, and England, who alone of the Great Powers might from the Russian point of view be expected to offer any serious resistance to her expansion, is a Power whose policy and diplomacy have been idle at Teheran for many a long year, and whose only method of defending its Asiatic interests, real or fancied, against the Russian advance in Turkestan, the Pamirs, and in China, has been that of Parliamentary invective and futile protestation. The possession of Persia would carry with it a fourfold advantage; it would mean the opening up of the whole Caspian region to Russian trade, which could then pass, in and out, over railways and through ports whose tariffs and dues were arranged to suit the Russian merchant, a hot-house plant whose particular disease, which Professor Oseroff calls "hypertrophy of profits," would otherwise be speedily cured. Secondly, Russia in Persia would control the Euphrates Valley, and thus be in a position to work for a footing on the Levant, to checkmate the many schemes for a railway between the Mediterranean and Basrah which, if realized, would seriously damage her trade and her position in the Gulf, and to threaten the Suez Canal. Thirdly, it would give her in Bander Abbas a naval base, not only serving as a halfway house between the Baltic and Manchuria, but vastly increasing her powers of offence in the event of a war with almost any naval Power; the question of coal-supply

has added a new figure to the problem of naval war, and although the *Rossia* is credited with the power of steaming at slow speed from Kronstadt to the Far East without recoaling, such a performance would be impossible in war and Russian cruisers under present conditions would have to limit their commerce-destroying energies to two circles at either extremity of the continent whose radii would not extend as far as the Indian Ocean. Lastly, the possession of Persia places her in a strong position on the weakest frontier of India. Such are the reasons of Persia's importance from the Russian standpoint.

In the popular mind Russia exists for the purpose of invading India, forcing Mr. Goschen to increase the navy estimates, providing "copy" for Mr. Stead and Madame Novikoff, and consigning Nihilists to Siberia. There appears to be a sort of hypnotic influence attached to the mere mention of that country which evokes visions of an army several million strong, of the slow but irresistible absorption of a vast continent, of a religion mediæval in its intolerance of rival creeds, and behind it all the vision of one single superhuman brain, directing and controlling, that of the Autocrat of all the Russias, whose aim is the Russification of Asia, neither more nor less. It is an awe-inspiring subject for those who have the artistic temperament, imaginative and averse to detail. It is impossible to avoid having a suspicion that it is our ignorance of Russia as she is, a state of mind which tolerates the idea that Russia is invincible and her expansion at our expense inevitable, which weakens our policy as far as it concerns her. Russia, if in some respects a Colossus, is a Colossus of the same clay as the rest. The Czar has far less real power than a constitutional Sovereign, and there is far less unity of purpose among the real rulers of the country and the various Ministers than there is under our own Cabinet; each Minister is supreme in his own department, whose policy he directs, frequently in opposition to the policies of the other departmental heads.

The legend of the 300 years of continuous policy, which I see has been repeated by a recent historian, is historically unsound as well as opposed to ordinary common-sense. Russia has always desired an outlet on permanently ice-free waters. "It is not land I want, but water!" exclaimed Peter the Great, who did his best to procure it, and succeeded on the Caspian, the Baltic and the Black Sea. His successors have always experienced the same want, but their endeavours to supply the deficiency must not be interpreted as a vast scheme for acquiring the whole of Asia. Let those who believe in such a theory read Gortchakoff's Circular to the Powers in 1864, which it is the fashion among Russophobes to deride as an example of official chicanery, in which he states the reasons for the Russian advance in Central Asia,\* and let them remember that it was the same man who bitterly opposed the formation of the Transcaspian military district ten years later on political and financial grounds, since the step was demanded by the war-party, who wished to give the army of the Caucasus something to do, and to win medals for themselves. The Imperial Commission appointed to consider the proposal rejected it by a large majority, but the war-party—Jingoes in modern parlance—gained the ear of the Czar and ultimately his sanction. In this, as in many phases of the advance towards the Khanates, there was absolutely no question of political expediency, or of the prosecution of any long-meditated scheme of national aggrandizement. As for Russia's expansion in China, the matter stands thus: we have done our utmost to shut her out from the Mediterranean, from Constantinople, and so far with some success; the Persian pear was not yet ripe, and Russia therefore hurried across to the opposite end of the continent where there was still time to secure an outlet with

\* For another Russian view of the policy which governed the advance into Central Asia and the Amur region, see Professor Grigorief's sketch, "The Russian Policy regarding Central Asia," Schuyler's "Turkestan," appendix iv., Vol. II.

such forces as she could spare for the purpose from Europe.

It is once more this belief in the deadly fixity of purpose on the part of Russia which coloured the views, and consequently justified the strong words, which British politicians have indulged in on occasions when the extension of Russia's frontier in Asia was fraught with no serious consequences at all to ourselves, and to read the accounts of the outcry which the occupation of the Khanates aroused in this country, it would seem as if every step taken without our permission were considered as a *casus belli*. This dog-in-the-manger attitude is responsible for the suspicion and hostility with which Russia regards England to-day, and it is not surprising that such should be the case.

Our insularity is mental as well as geographical, and the point of view changes accordingly. "Le Français," said a witty Frenchman, "commence par avoir une bonne opinion de soi-même ; l'Anglais par avoir une mauvaise opinion des autres." Convinced, therefore, of our love of peace, and of a fair field and no favour for our trade, we view the inevitable arrival of backward foreign nations at the overflowing stage in the light of a "wanton rupture of the *status quo*," oblivious of the fact that the *status quo*, though of great benefit to us, may be capable of much improvement from their standpoint.

We have, to all intents and purposes, finished our period of expansion ; our colonies are scattered over the globe at vast distances from us and from one another, and as the sole link which in the end can bind them to us is the fleet, we have not hesitated to acquire coaling-stations along all the trade routes—Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, and Singapore on the road to India, and the East. Late in the day other nations, under the stimulus of increasing commerce, have expanded also and acquired foreign possessions ; but their natural desire to connect them with the Mother Country is continually being thwarted by the fact that

Great Britain persists in regarding any fresh naval station in the neighbourhood of a trade route as a possible—indeed, a probable—menace to herself and her commerce in time of war; in short, she does her best to prevent the acquisition of any such port, especially by France or Russia. Now, if foreign Powers are convinced of their own peaceful intentions (and most of the Continental nations stand far more in need of peace than ourselves), it is not to be wondered at that they should refuse to take us at our own valuation; for what is to be thought of a peace-loving Power, possessed of the strongest navy in the world, who uses all her diplomacy and her arms to maintain a *status quo* which is to her own and not to their advantage, who acquiesces in filibustering raids on a State under her own suzerainty when its semi-independence stands in the way of her far-reaching schemes, and whose occupation of Egypt is a breach of honour necessitated by her greed for empire in Africa, or who deliberately opposes the natural seaward expansion of a country like Russia because, although she already has more than half the world's trade in her hands the commercial policy of Russia runs on Russian and not on English lines, and also on the ground that Russia may turn the hardly-acquired seaboard into a base for naval operations against her trade and her fleet?

Such is the foreign view, as more than one foreigner has explained it to me, and it emphasizes the fact that when no compromise between opposing policies and interests is possible, one party is sooner or later compelled to fight, unless it prefers to go to the wall without a struggle. It is in this direction that the lines of British and Russian policy and interest are tending in Asia. We consider it our duty to thwart Russia, and Russia, when she evades our watchfulness, celebrates her arrival at the seaside by the construction of a second Gibraltar and a fleet of commerce-destroyers; we note that Russian railways are strategic first and commercial afterwards, and that she strictly preserves her own commercial coverts. Such things

in foreign hands do not appeal to Englishmen, being essentially un-English. We look forward to peace and profits; when war comes we shall send out another Girouard with some sappers, and whatever railways are necessary will be laid at the rate of four miles a day. Even in India we are content to see the efficiency of the defence of the Indus frontier impaired by the commercial rivalry between Bombay and Karachi, which has kept the latter without the additional railway communication with the Punjab which is so greatly needed, on commercial grounds also, it is true.

To revert to Persia, it is realized that the advantages which would accrue to Russia from the occupation of the country might easily in her hands become very serious disadvantages to England and her greatest dependency India, and the Muskat incident, coupled with the presence in India of Lord Curzon, goes to show that there will be no compromise possible. "I should regard the concession of a port upon the Persian Gulf to Russia by any Power as a deliberate insult to Great Britain, as a wanton rupture of the *status quo*, and as an intentional provocation to war; and I should impeach the British Minister, who was guilty of acquiescing in such a surrender, as a traitor to his country." Such was Mr. Curzon's opinion in 1892, and it is the Viceroy of India's opinion in 1899. But it is primarily the consideration of India's safety which demands that Persia, her *vis-à-vis* across her weakest frontier, shall not be allowed to pass under the entire control of a Power who alone among the nations is capable and, according to the general view, deliberately desirous of overthrowing the British raj in India. With the question of the latter view's correctness I have nothing to do here, and will assume it to be justified.

The alarmist who gives the distances between our outposts and those of Russia, a list of railways in Central Asia, the war-strength of the Russian army, and armed with these statistics, proceeds to reduce the invasion of India to a matter of feet and inches, reminds one of the "naval expert" who bases his judgment concerning the fighting

powers of a ship on comparative tables of "fire-energy in foot-seconds," "weight of metal that can be thrown per minute in tons," and trial speeds. Each of them conveniently eliminates that of which both are ignorant—the personal factor, and the actual service conditions under which armies and warships will be called upon to fight. In the invasion of India there are other circumstances beside distance which have a prior claim to be considered—the quality of the troops as well as their numbers, the efficiency and capacity of the railways as well as their suitability from a purely geographical point of view for military purposes, the question of commissariat and of transport, and, finally, the nature of the country to be traversed. A study of these matters by various military writers, possessed of the requisite local knowledge, has resulted in the conviction that the invasion of India through Afghanistan is out of the question for an invader theoretically strong enough to defeat our troops. One explanation of the seeming paradox is that the 150,000 men and the hundreds of thousands of transport animals that would be required on the lowest computation would have to be fed during several months in Afghanistan, a country which is barely self-supporting in the matter of food-stuffs, and the task of bringing up food and supplies for such a host from the uttermost parts of Central Asia is beyond the power of Russia, with only one rickety line of railway behind her. Another fact to be considered is that an army of many millions, or even thousands, could only emerge from the five passes which open on the North-West frontier in dribblets, and would be cut up as fast as it did so. But Colonel Hanna has stated the whole case with admirable clearness in his well-known work on the subject. It is only through Baluchistan that an invader could hope to advance with any chance of success; the problem becomes much simpler, therefore, if he can make Persia his base. His troops would concentrate there, coming down from the Caucasus and the Askabad district, and on the vessels of the volunteer fleet from their home ports; and when the time



was come, he would find no such physical obstacles hindering his march through Baluchistan as he would in Afghanistan ; before him would be only the Indus—broad and rapid, it is true, but compared to a desert or a mountain-range, the weakest of the three natural defences which are of any military value. Probably an attempt would also be made to elude our fleet and land a body of troops on the Indian coast near Karachi. With Persia as their immediate base, the “big battalions” would be much more likely to find victory on their side, the more so since by that time the increased Russian fleet, acting as it might be in concert with the French, would be in a position to seriously hamper, if not defeat, our attempts to throw reinforcements into India. Wars, however, do not break out at a day’s notice, neither will there be a Russian invasion of India for many years to come ; for where there is so great a prize at stake she will do her utmost to make success certain before she takes the final step. Many people are greatly impressed with the fact that Kouro-patkine’s scheme for the invasion of India lies ready in the pigeon-holes of the Ministry of War at St. Petersburg. There are hundreds by other hands, from Skobelev and Churloff downwards, in the same place ; the French have several for the invasion of England, and so have the Germans—possibly the Japanese. It is a favourite exercise with staff officers in many lands.

A glance at the disposition of Russia’s various army corps shows that by far the greater part of her military strength is concentrated on the German and Austrian frontiers ; a map of Germany reveals a network of strategic railways on the Russian frontier, which on its side is not nearly so well served.\* The recent increase of the Russian army has

\* Since these lines were written I see that Prince Uchtomsky, in his paper, the *Viedomosti*, has been reading the Government a severe lecture on this unpreparedness. He pointed out that Poland would be overrun by a German (or an Austro-German) army long before the Russian troops could have been brought to bear in sufficient numbers to protect the frontier ; and stated that *two months* would elapse, owing to the defective

brought about a like result in that of Germany; the Russification of the Finns is following on that of the Baltic provinces (to which the "Germanization" of the Poles along the Prussian frontier was Bismarck's answer), for Russia does not relish the idea of having her frontier peoples turning against her in case of a war, as there is not much doubt they would have done—nay, as some say they may still do. If the Russian fleet is increasing, so also is the German; and in the struggle between Slav and Teuton which Skobelev foretold, and others since his day, it will go hard with Russia if the command of the Baltic is held by a fleet other than her own. All these circumstances, to say nothing of the drain upon Russian resources necessitated by her railways, fortifications and establishment in the Far East, and the financial difficulties resulting therefrom, have to be borne in mind in considering the possibility of such an enormously costly and protracted operation as the invasion of India would be; and these reasons alone are sufficient to dictate to Russia the course which it is plain she intends to adopt—namely, a gradual extension of her territory in the direction of the Indian frontier and the Persian Gulf, as Baron Kuhn predicted in his memorandum on the Euphrates Valley Railway as long ago as 1858, until her frontiers are conterminous with both. Then she will be able to make her attack direct from her own territory, in which she will have had ample time to choose and prepare her bases and to perfect her communications with the Russian railway system and the coast.

It is to Persia, therefore, that Russia is now devoting all the attention she can spare from her work of consolidating her new position in Manchuria—attentions that are commercial as well as diplomatic, though it must be confessed that the terms in her case are practically synonymous.

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system of railway mobilisation and concentration, before an effective blow could be struck at the invaders. Evidently it is being recognised that Russia's expenditure in the Far East has been carried out at the expense of more vital interests nearer home.

Persia at the present day is the real "sick man" of the East; the Government is the lowest form of Oriental "administration" that exists; corruption among the officials is the rule and not the exception, and the economic condition of the country could not be worse. Bad government has led to popular discontent, to general unrest and demoralization, and commercial enterprise and confidence have been greatly damaged. Some effort, it is true, has lately been made to check the depredations of the tax-farmers, and a commission of Belgian experts is now investigating the Customs. Although the officials have thrown every sort of difficulty in their way, the first result of their report was that the individual who farmed the Customs in Azerbaijan alone was required to pay the Government £40,000 more than the sum he had previously paid for that privilege, which was 180,000 tomans; his profits on the transaction had been 370,000 tomans, or £74,000, in one year—over two hundred per cent.

In the whole country there are only two roads fit for wheeled traffic, one made from Enzeli to Resht by the Russians, who likewise made the other, a cart-track between Askabad and Meshed; at present M. Poliaoff, the Russian contractor who built the Rustchuk-Varna Railway, is constructing a military road from Resht to Teheran, which is nearly finished; all these, it will be noticed, are of great strategical importance, especially the last, for communication between Teheran and the Caspian is cut off by the Elburz range. A fourth road is in process of being made from Isfahan to Ahwaz, which will have the effect of cheapening freights by enabling English goods to avoid the Turkish dues at Baghdad. Russia's frontier borders on that of Persia for over 1,100 miles and she has railway facilities along the whole stretch of Khorasan; her trade is therefore carried on practically secure from competition. English goods, on the other hand, have to go *viâ* Baghdad or Bushire to Central and Western Persia, and into Khorasan by way of Tabriz or Teheran; Indian goods

for Meshed and Eastern Persia by caravan over the long rough land-routes *viâ* Bander Abbas or Bushire. It is not to be wondered at therefore that Russian trade is increasing by leaps and bounds in the whole of Northern Persia. In Azerbaijan, however, Great Britain is still responsible for half the imports, and nearly all the tea comes from Calcutta. Russian capital is pouring into the provinces bordering on the Caspian, and in the bazaars of Teheran, where at one time only Manchester piece-goods were to be seen, at least half the trade is now in the hands of Russia. In Central Persia the Consular reports show that there are no British merchants to dispute the market and consequently our trade, if not decreasing, is certainly not expanding. As for North-Eastern Persia, the Russian imports into Meshed, the capital of Khorasan, have doubled in the last four years, the figures being £121,000, as against £59,000 in 1895, a rise due to the road which has been made between that place and Askabad. Meshed, with a growing population of 80,000, is the great halfway house between India and Russia; goods to the value of half a million pass through the place every year, and a fiscal system such as would surely come into force under a Russian régime would practically stifle Indian trade with Turkestan, Trans-Caspia, and of course Persia itself.

The Russian in Asia is notoriously an adept in the art of impressing the Oriental imagination with a sense, not of his social superiority, for he mixes on a far more cordial footing of equality with conquered peoples than does the insular reserved Englishman, but of the wealth and power that is behind him. All through Turkey, Asia, and Persia, the Russian Consul is an Ambassador in miniature, vastly more imposing than our own; at Resht he lives in a palace, has a Vice-Consul under him, clerks, a consular staff, and a dozen mounted Cossacks; while his colleague at Tabriz, the commercial capital of Persia, has an escort of 100 Cossacks; in addition, the Russian Consuls draw far larger salaries and keep up much greater state than

their English rivals, who for their part are wholly insufficient in number. Such things count for much in Oriental eyes, and it is the Russian representatives at Tabriz, Resht, and Meshed, who between them practically rule Northern Persia, which is to all intents and purposes a Russian protectorate; and were Russia to march her troops in from Tiflis and Trans-Caspia to-day, she would meet with no resistance as far as the natives are concerned. A few years ago the Consul-General at Tabriz in a secret report to St. Petersburg on the conquest of Persia averred that a single regiment of Cossacks would be sufficient for the task, and although both Sir H. Rawlinson, who served five years in the Shah's army, and Sir F. Goldsmid have both recorded their opinion that the Persians afford the very best rough material for military purposes, the Consul's statement is hardly an exaggeration in view of the present condition of the Persian "army." The porters at many of the British Consulates are Persian artillery colonels. But Russia is pursuing her end in other ways as well. Round Lake Urumiah are the Nestorians, a united body some 100,000 strong; the efforts of the Russian missionaries have already resulted in the conversion of nearly half this number to the Orthodox Church, and within a year or two there is no doubt that the remainder will have followed suit. The significance of this event lies in the fact that the converts acquire all the privileges of Russian subjects in Persia. Besides this commercial and religious forward movement, there is also the "rolling-stock diplomacy," which is so peculiarly identified with Russian expansion, and has since been adopted by other powers in China, Asia Minor, and Africa. The Press has been full of Russian railway schemes in Persia, but nothing is certain except that Russia has until 1901 the sole right to construct railways in Persia, and that she will run a line from the Caucasus system to at least Teheran. What is equally certain is that it would not pay her to open up Persia to foreign trade competition, which would speedily ruin her own commercial monopoly in Northern Persia, by running

a line down to the Gulf out of a purely philanthropic desire for the well-being of Persia. Russian railways, it must be remembered, are always strategic rather than commercial, and a railway to a port on the Gulf will not be of much use to her unless she controls the outlet and the territory through which it runs. A few years ago the present Minister of War (General Kourapatkine) made a tour in Persia, and his report to the Emperor contains a project for a harbour at Enzeli, and railways from Pir Bazar (the port of the Murghab) *viâ* Resht to the capital, from Kars, which will shortly become the frontier terminus of the Tiflis line, through Erivan and Tabriz to Teheran again, and ultimately to Bushire, and finally for a branch of the Trans-Caspian line to Meshed.

These schemes are not altogether new. Baron Reuter obtained a concession for a line from the Caspian to the Gulf in 1872, but it expired without his making any attempt to fulfil the conditions. The Russian General Falkenhagen then obtained the same concession but lack of funds prevented anything being done until the present concessionaires, a Russian company, took it up, and their term expires, as I said, next year unless a beginning is made in the meantime. My belief is that there will be no Russian railway to the Gulf for some time to come, for the reasons I have mentioned; unless Russia can control the whole line, it would bring her no advantage but rather the reverse, as her commercial and political supremacy in Northern Persia would suffer from the introduction of foreign competition.

The Russian policy will be to obtain a renewal of the concession, and of the power of vetoing foreign projects for rival lines, by making a start with the Caucasus line to Tabriz and Teheran; she will strengthen her hold on Northern Persia by lines from the Caspian to Teheran, and from Askabad, the capital of the Trans-Caspian district,\*

\* The military districts of Trans-Caspia, Turkestan, and Semiretshinsk have this year been placed under the authority of General Dukhovskoi, the Governor of Turkestan, who thus has the sole control of some 60,000 troops.

to Meshed, all of which would be of the utmost importance to her in case of war.

Such, then, is the Russian mode of attacking the Persian problem, and she is not unsupported in her task, as the Muskat incident shows. It was a singularly instructive episode, owing its existence to reasons far other than the temporary fit of indiscretion of an overzealous French official; and since it is a straw which shows which way the wind has been blowing for some time past its history may be shortly given. It begins with a speech, apropos of the Franco-Russian alliance, made in the Chamber by M. Deloncle as far back as 1892, which is given in full by the *Times of India* in one of the excellent series of articles which it published on the incident. The gist of it was this: the Franco-Russian alliance was offensive and defensive, as far as their Asiatic as well as other interests were concerned. England, since 1856, had constituted herself without a shadow of right the general arbitrator and guardian in the Persian Gulf and had established a "Trucial League" between the various Arab tribes, the Persians, and Turks in those parts. "Je considère," he went on, "qu'il est du devoir et de l'honneur de la France d'avoir là-bas un agent consulaire, *si modeste qu'il soit*" (the italics are mine), "pour ouvrir un registre de nos nationaux protégés de toute la région," and ended up with a burst of eloquence in which he declared that the French aim must be "le renouveau de notre pavillon dans les parages de la mer des Indes, où nous fûmes jadis les maîtres."

M. Deloncle was not in office at that date but his forecast has proved more than correct. The French have no trade worth mentioning in the Persian Gulf; their flag is only seen on slave-dhows, and the number of French merchant steamers visiting the Gulf in 1897 was *one* of 850 tons, which did not go to Muskat, at which port she takes none of the exports, and in 1897 contributed less than one-fiftieth of the imports.\* In 1894 therefore, the modest Consul, M. Ottavi,

\* In 1898 the value of the French imports in the whole of the Gulf ports was £44,175, and of the exports, £2,537. Not a single French steam-

was unobtrusively installed at Muskat, where up to Seyid Turki's death in 1888 only Great Britain and the United States (which takes nearly all the dates that come from the interior of Oman) had been represented, and subsequently the presence of numerous Russian agents was noted, who made their appearance in the guise of plague doctors and merchants—at first only on the Mekran coast and the Persian littoral, but latterly in Southern Arabia and especially Oman—owing partly to the Russian idea that we were about to declare a protectorate over Southern Arabia.

Several French men-of-war visited Muskat, one coming specially from Brest with presents for the Sultan, while the officers of another gave him a sword of honour. Everything promised well; during the absence of Major Fagan, our Political Officer, M. Ottavi obtained the Sultan's signature to an agreement allowing the French the use of a certain harbour near Muskat, was promptly promoted by his Government, and the French made sure of their port at last.

Unluckily, the news of the agreement leaked out; Admiral Douglas hurried to the spot with the *Eclipse*, *Sphinx*, and *Redbreast*, and the *Assaye* and three torpedo-boats went to Karachi, followed by the *Lapwing*, in order to support him if necessary. The treaty was handed over to the Admiral, in spite of M. Ottavi's opposition, and the Sultan, who was in a destitute and humbled state because his monthly subsidy had immediately been stopped by the Indian Government, publicly proclaimed its revocation. The French protestations were loud; but the fact remains that they could have had a godown for coal similar to our own (which was all that they desired, according to M. Delcassé) at any time since 1862 for the mere asking.

Unfortunately, the *Echo de Paris* was injudicious enough to announce subsequently that "the French Government

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ship entered the Gulf, and of the fifteen sailing vessels (with a total tonnage of 950 tons!) flying the French flag, not one visited the chief port, Bushire.



have completely given up the intention of occupying the Bay of Bander-Jisseh, which it was proposed to equip as a powerful naval station and base." The whole thing was a *ballon d'essai*, sent up by the French at Russian instigation, and the comments of the St. Petersburg press showed with what interest they had been following the plot and how great their disappointment was at its ill-success.

The control of the Gulf is the key of our position as regards Persia and we have more right, as well as more reason, than any other Power to maintain it; for apart from the fact that a hostile naval base on the Indian Ocean would seriously menace our line of communication with the East and greatly increase the difficulties against which our fleets would have to contend in time of war, it is owing to our efforts during the past half century that there is any trade whatever with Southern Persia and Oman. Prior to that period, the Gulf was nothing but a nest of pirates—some 50,000 strong—and of slave-traders who between them rendered the Persian coast uninhabitable and peaceable trade out of the question. After years of intermittent warfare, we stamped them out at the cost of many lives—the story may be read in Lieutenant Low's "History of the Indian Navy"—and since that day have continued to protect life and property in the Gulf and to keep in check the slave-trade between the Zanzibar coast and Oman, which is a disgrace to the French flag.

It was well after 1850 that the first merchant steamer entered the Straits of Ormuz, but at the present day Bushire is a large port with regular lines of steamers. Owing to our enforcing peace among the Arab pirates and raiders, the Persian Government has been able to resume control of its own littoral, whither foreign merchants can now venture without fear of being knocked on the head or having their vessels scuttled. The British Resident at Bushire, in addition to controlling British politics in the Gulf, is a sort of arbitrator-in-chief between the various tribes, and between the natives and their rulers; only last

year the whole Persian garrison assembled at the Residency, and begged Colonel Meade to obtain their arrears of pay, which he did. As for our commercial interests, they far outweigh those of any other country.\* Over 80 per cent. of the shipping in the Gulf is British, and in 1897 seven-eighths of the Bushire and Muskat imports came from Great Britain and India; Bander Abbas also, where Russian agents are busily intriguing at this moment, is the port through which most of the Indian goods for Eastern Persia enter. Competition, however, is rapidly growing; Belgian and German firms are opening branches at Bushire and other towns and last year Germany gave evidence of her intention to further her trade relations in the country by appointing Dr. Hauck, late of the German Legation at Teheran, to be her Consul-General at Bushire.† This growth of European interests—not only in Persia, but in Asia Minor also—is an important feature of the Near-Eastern question, and a circumstance which may indefinitely modify the development which one is tempted to prophesy for it from the standpoint of to-day. The process of the survival of the fittest is actively going forward among nations as well as among individuals, and the territories of the various “sick men,” the politically degenerate, are being absorbed by their healthier neighbours; and as it has happened in the Khanates, and in China, Cuba, and in the Philippines, so also will it happen in Asia Minor and Arabia, and, sooner or later, in Turkey itself and Persia.

\* The figures for 1898 (Foreign Office Report, No. 2,346) show that the total value of the imports into all the Gulf ports was made up of £1,825,220 from Great Britain and India, and £985,464 from the rest of the world. Of the total exports, Great Britain and India took £907,796, and the rest of the world £1,160,674. The British steam-tonnage for the same period was fifty-three times the amount of that of all other countries, the figures being—

Great Britain	...	...	356 vessels = 379,724 tons.
Other countries	...	...	6 „ 7,092 „

† A curious instance of German “enterprise” lately reached me in the shape of a German translation of “Thomas à Kempis,” published at Leipzig in 1746, and picked up by a friend in the bazaar at Attock for five annas.

German influence is, for the time being, in the ascendant at Yildiz and the German schemes for the exploitation of Asia Minor, as well as for the construction of the line that is to connect the Mediterranean with Baghdad, Basrah or Koweyt, and the Persian Gulf, are perhaps nearer realization than those of France or England. They excite the gravest apprehension at St. Petersburg, for such a system of railways would not only prevent Russia from extending her consuls, her commerce, and what is of more moment, her influence in Asia Minor and the Euphrates Valley towards the Mediterranean seaboard, but also greatly weaken her commercial hold on Persia, upon whose trade with other nations such a line would have a very beneficial effect. Already the Russian press is clamouring for prohibitions *à la* Pavloff, and the *Novoe Vremya* recently observed that "it is absolutely necessary for Russia to convince Germany, whose scheme of development in Asia Minor, and especially in Mesopotamia, seriously threatens Russian interests, that Russia will not tolerate in those countries any modification of the *status quo*, nor the foundation of any international enterprises, and more particularly railway undertakings."

Russia alone must have the option of modifying the *status quo* to suit her own ends. It is a naïve utterance, and in view of the official aspirations to which it gives expression, the attendance of Admiral Skrydloff with half the crew of his flagship, of M. de Nelidoff, Ambassador at Rome, and of over 8,000 Russian "pilgrims" at the Greek Easter Festival at Jerusalem this year, can have been no less gratifying to the directors of Russia's Eastern policy than it must to M. Pobiedonostzeff and the Pan-Slavists. In Russia most things are pressed into the service of furthering the policy in hand, including religion, as in the case of the Persian Nestorians, and where her policy is hampered by any religious belief whatever, the adherents of that religion are either "converted" or forced to betake themselves elsewhere, like the Jews and the Dukhoborts, the Baltic Lutherans and the Stundists. Germany too was

not innocent of political designs when she arrogated to herself the rôle of protector of the missionaries in the East, as French politicians and the Vatican could tell.

Within the short space of this article it is impossible to deal at such length as one could desire with the various factors which bear upon the general question of the future of Persia, and I have done little more than indicate their number and conflicting nature. On the one side we have Russia, who is bent on acquiring a footing on the Indian Ocean, which would be of enormous advantage to her trade and prosperity, would enable her to use her fleet and her armies with much greater effect than she can at present in case of war with almost any European Power, and finally would put her in a position to indulge in something more than dreams, as yet unrealizable, of further expansion, possibly at England's expense. On the other side the chief figure is the British Empire, for which the absorption of Persia by Russia means, firstly, the exposure of India to attack on her weakest side; secondly, in the light of Russia's present fiscal policy, the exclusion of her trade from a market of growing importance; and lastly, the establishment of a great naval power in a position commanding and threatening the great highway of our Eastern trade. France has no interests of any kind in Persia or the Gulf, except that she needs an intermediate coaling-station between Bizerta and Saigon; Germany's interests are never likely to be other than commercial, whatever other designs she may have in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. It is Russia and England who are the rival heirs-apparent.

England bears a great resemblance to St. Simon Stylites. He lived, it will be remembered, in a state of splendid isolation on the summit of a lofty pillar, owing his creature comforts to the kind offices of his friends, whose contributions and offerings of food he drew up by means of a cord. Now supposing some enemy had intimidated or enslaved his best friend who supplied him with most of his vital necessities, and thereby caused the recluse to fall into a

premature decline from want of proper nourishment, and made him so weak that he experienced some difficulty in communicating with his other supporters, what course should he have adopted? The natural one would have been to close with his enemy and beat him out of the field, whereupon the scarcity of supplies would have ceased. That would have been sound strategy and tactics combined—if he could have come to close quarters with his enemy. But he could not. And the only conclusion to be drawn from that fact is that he would have had to live in reduced circumstances ever after.

England, securely planted on her island, depends we may say entirely upon outside contributions for food, money, and all the necessities of life and empire; the contributors being the merchant and the artisan, whether in her own colonies or not. If Russia steps over the border and arbitrarily closes one source of her income by shutting out her trade, thereby causing her considerable loss and inconvenience, and threatening another and the chief source of her contributions, namely India, how is the thing to be remedied, always provided that Parliamentary guarantees of integrity and formal diplomatic protests remain without effect? Obviously by expelling the wrongdoer and regaining our source of supply.

That is what it comes to in the end, and the sooner the conclusion is faced the better. Single-handed we cannot hurt Russia or prevent her encroaching on and closing foreign territory whose trade with us is essential to the maintenance of our present condition of prosperity. Russia will always be acting in direct land communication with her main bases, and with time can always bring up to any given point sufficient troops to oppose even Lord Wolseley's three Army Corps. Our fleet can blockade and destroy the Russian squadrons and if necessary serve as an escort to any number of transports—mostly empty transports, for we have nothing to put in them compared with the numbers that Russia can put in the field.

Did it suit her, and supposing that she were in a condition to do so, what is there to prevent Russia from occupying the whole of Persia to-morrow up to within range of the guns of our fleet? And unless we climbed down from our pillar and came to close quarters with her we should not, single-handed, be able to stop a Russian advance on Peking, or as far south as German susceptibilities and possibly Chinese antipathies would permit. If we aspire to wield the same influence on a continent as continental powers, because of our interests that are at stake there, we must be prepared to defend those interests with continental weapons, which are men and not ships. Ships did not drive the French out of Spain in the Peninsular War, although it was the ships that rendered the operation possible by keeping open our communications, or in other words, by keeping the command of the sea; and ships will not prevent a continental power from marching across Persia, although they render it possible for us to throw our troops into the country, and troops, *in sufficient numbers*, can prevent such a contingency.

I am well aware that many may be inclined to pooh-pooh the very idea of such a necessity for resolute uncompromising opposition on our part. Russia, they will point out, has enough new territory on her hands as it is, to say nothing of being almost bankrupt; and if she does occupy Persia, her policy will not be always one of protection and prohibitive tariffs, for with a few more men like M. de Witte at the head of affairs she will soon recognise the advisability of encouraging foreign trade, and therefore in the long run ours will not suffer; and as for invading India, she would not be foolhardy enough to attempt it, and if she did we should teach her a lesson. All I can say in reply is that financial embarrassments and a plethora of undeveloped territory did not prevent her surprising the Foreign Office by annexing Manchuria and Port Arthur, places that in many respects are of less importance to her than Persia would be, and that as for her fiscal policy we have to take

it as it is and not as it may be ; and finally that as regards the invasion of India through Persia and Baluchistan, there is at any rate room enough for two opinions.

My contention is this, that as the natural desire of Russia to expand can only be satisfied at the expense of the status quo, which we consider to be essential to our interests, we must make up our minds whether those interests are worth fighting for or whether, considering our *military* helplessness, we shall abandon such of them as may be threatened and invaded by Russia, and ultimately, perhaps, confine our energies in Asia to India. The question of Russia's ability or desire to bring about such a state of affairs has nothing to do with the matter ; it is the principle involved which this country must definitely recognise, the principle of adapting the means to the end, of suiting our system of defence to meet the nature of the attack. Paper protests, guarantees of integrity, and verbal assurances of honourable intentions have never yet stood in the way when national interests have imperatively demanded the extension of a country's frontiers, and it is not right that they should stand in the way. Does anybody suppose that we shall evacuate Egypt ? The morality of nations is not the same as the morality of individuals, eagerly as certain individuals strive to reduce it to the same level after judging it by the same canons.

Lord Clarendon's policy of a neutral zone between the Russian and English frontiers is a diplomatic method of shirking the main issue. Russia, for instance, wishes to absorb Afghanistan ; on the slightest pretext she will occupy Herat, and any disorder that may ensue on the Amir's death will provide her with one. If we do not wish her to annex the country we must do so ourselves ; it is the only way to keep her out. As it is, Russia will one day seize Herat and we shall occupy Kandahar, on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread.

Neither is it of any use shirking the logical outcome of a determination on our part to fight if necessary for our

interests in Asia. That outcome is a cheaper and a larger army. To discuss whether that result should be obtained by some form of conscription, or by other means, lies outside the scope of this article.

We are enjoying the profits of a world-wide commerce conducted on our side on lines that do not suit any other nation. Our merchant venturers have acquired and built up that trade, but when they are threatened or robbed, are there to be no police to protect them or expel the criminal? The Navy is our insurance against loss at sea; we cannot go on enjoying all the profits of a successful business without insuring ourselves against accident on land. And in Persia, as Schuyler, Marvin and Palgrave foretold, and as Lord Curzon knows to-day, any omission to do so will bring the gravest consequences in its train.



## THE EARLY TURKS—RECENT DISCOVERIES.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THOUGH some very important Turkish inscriptions have been discovered within the past ten years in different parts of Mongolia, and though a group of the most penetrating and sagacious savants have been busily engaged during that period in the work of deciphering and translating them, comparatively little seems to have transpired in Great Britain to show that the English-speaking public is alive to the weighty bearings of the subject upon general Asiatic history. The strangeness and (to most of us) the uncouthness of multitudinous Tartar, and more especially of Chinese, proper names, is such that wearisomeness and discouragement are apt to overcome the general reader who may attempt to thread his own way through the maze of literal translations. Hence it is that our notions of the ancient Turks, which up to ten years ago must necessarily have been chiefly gathered from Chinese history, had to be laboriously gleaned from the imperishable works of the Jesuit Fathers, Deguignes' *Histoire Générale des Huns*, and similar ponderous volumes, not always easily accessible, and never either very accurate or very clear. The defects in clearness and accuracy were not so much the fault of the translators, who as a rule performed their work in a most able and conscientious way, as of the Chinese originals from which they translated. Although Chinese records rank amongst the highest in point of fidelity and accuracy, there is always a lack of proportion and a want of system in the arrangement of facts; moreover, misprints are by no means rare in even the best of editions, and of course they become commoner in the inferior and less costly print upon which the European translator has often had to depend. Besides, even with the utmost desire to be accurate, the Chinese author and the Chinese printer are always heavily handicapped when they come to deal with foreign words of

which they do not know the meaning, handed down from edition to edition through centuries, and at best only approximately suggesting in imperfect Chinese syllables the foreign sounds collected in different places at different times by officers speaking different Chinese dialects, and therefore having different views as to the phonetic value of each syllable. For all these reasons it may not come amiss if I restate our present position in Turkology from its Chinese standpoint, avoiding as many harsh and strange words as possible.

When we talk of the "Turks" and the Turkish group of languages, we must clearly remember that the very word "Turk" only came into existence about the year 500 of our era. In speaking of the ancestors of the Turks, who harassed the Chinese frontiers for at least 700 years before the name Turk was heard and recorded, the term Scytho-Turks is often used by Europeans; or some call them Huns; partly because the nomads who attacked China had manners similar to those of the Huns who attacked Europe, and partly because the Chinese called them Hiung-nu, or Hün-nu, meaning (on the mere face of the words) "Hiung slaves," it being thought possible by some that the words Hun and Hiung may be etymologically one and the same. In alluding to the language of this ancient race, in which many so-called Turkish words can be clearly discerned even in their distorted Chinese transliterative forms, we must therefore not lose sight of the fact that, for historical purposes, the word "Turkish" is for convenience' sake here used retrospectively, and in no way endows the Turks in the strict sense of the word with an existence longer than 1,500 years, counting backwards from to-day.

By a careful study of Chinese history, either through the medium of translations, or, better still, in the original, it can easily be seen that the Turks of the sixth century were merely a re-shuffle of a few Hiung-nu clans: indeed, apart from the general evidence which demonstrates this fact, there are the specific and positive statements of the Chinese,

repeated several times, directly and indirectly, under different sets of circumstances. Then, as now, the whole of the vast tract between Manchuria, Lake Balkash, Siberia, and Tibet, was extremely thinly populated, and probably at no time contained more than 500,000 tents, or families, all told. At no time was the most powerful nomad ruler able to command the prompt services of more than about 100,000 horse-archers—on one or two rare occasions perhaps 200,000—while the minor chieftains, scattered about in the numerous oases, might enjoy a more or less independent position with a fifth, a tenth, or a twentieth of that number, paying tribute to the Great Khan of the Nomads in hides or cattle, and doing military service at the caprice of the leading power for the time being, until some revolution, famine, or other great change should bring on a period of revolt and anarchy, causing the same clans or tribes to split up or amalgamate under a fresh hegemony, according to the exigencies of the hour. After the Chinese had succeeded in finally breaking up the Hiung-nu power, the various Tungusic tribes living farther east had an “innings” for several centuries, and then an energetic adventurer, who seems to have been of mixed origin, succeeded in welding together the nomad empire of the Jeu-jen or Jwan-jwan, which some historians have thought themselves justified in identifying with the Avars of Western history. It was during the few decades when this Jeu-jen power was unmistakably in the ascendant that a clan of the Ashino or Asena family of Hiung-nu settled near the eastern end of what is now known as the Chinese province of Kan Suh—not very far from the well-known lake called Koko-Nor—serving their masters the Jeu-jen as blacksmiths and workers in iron. One of the mountains in this iron-producing locality bore the appearance of a helmet, which, according to the Chinese, was in the Turkish language of that day called “Türk,” and gave the Asena clan that name. Turkologues disagree as to whether there is in any modern Turkish dialect such an alleged word having the precise signification

of "helmet"; but in any case the Chinese statement is clear and positive, and there seem to be many other words, even in the Turkish inscriptions, now quite obsolete in all Turkish dialects. In course of time the hereditary chieftain of the Turks felt himself strong enough to demand a marriage alliance with his suzerain; this presumption of his led to a bloody war, and to the ultimate downfall of the Jeu-jen power. The Turkish chieftain took to himself the title of *khagan*, which in that form (*i.e.*, replacing the older dignity of *khan* already long in use among the Tunguses) had been first assumed by his master the supreme ruler of the Jeu-jen; formed alliances with the Tungusic Emperors then ruling part of North China; and on the reconquest of both North and South China by a purely Chinese dynasty (towards the end of the sixth century), found himself able to deal with Byzantium, Persia, and China on practically equal terms. This story of the rise of the Turkish Empire has already been shortly told in the *English Historical Review* (July, 1896), where full details of the diplomatic dealings connected with that important Asiatic revolution will be found; the matter is merely alluded to here again in general terms in order that the subject of our present paper may be led up to in a consecutive and intelligible way. The Chinese dynasty of Sui which thus succeeded, for the first time after a break of many centuries, in displacing all Tartar, Tibetan, and Turko-Tungusic adventurers or conquerors from their irregular positions as rulers in North China, was a very powerful house, and made its influence strongly felt even in such widely-separated regions as Corea and Siam; but, unfortunately, the second Emperor was a madman of the Caius Caligula type, and his extravagances at last led to a general revolt. One of his generals, connected by marriage with the Turks, and experienced in Northern frontier diplomacy, after some time succeeded, with the valuable aid of his own brave son, known to history as T'ang T'ai-tsung, in establishing the new ruling house of T'ang. This seems to have been a very easy matter, so far as South

China was concerned; but there were long and bloody wars with the Turks before anything like peace could be restored along the line of the Great Wall. While these political changes were being made in China, the Turkish power had split up into the rival empires of the Western Turks of Lake Balkash and the Eastern Turks of Kara-Balgassun (near Genghiz Khan's later ordo of Karakorum). The former had more to do with the Persians and the Arabs than with the Chinese; but Chinese influence was always more or less felt even there, and of course the main object of Chinese policy was then (as now) to endeavour to set by the ears the rival barbarians who menaced them. The most powerful of the later Eastern khans was Gheri, or Khieli, who was overlord of the whole of High Asia between Siberia, Tibet, Corea, and Persia; and in his own more immediately governed Eastern portion, corresponding to what we now call Mongolia, gave a vast deal of trouble to the Chinese. But the T'ang Emperor T'ai-tsung, who himself had a streak of Turkish blood in his veins through his mother, was a brave captain; well served, too, by capable generals. Gheri's power was completely broken in 630, when the *khagan* himself was taken captive: he died in honourable confinement in 633, and for the next half-century the whole of Turkdom was loosely governed by rival Turkish chiefs acting under the supervision of Chinese proconsuls. During this period of subordination the power of the Western Turks and extreme Northern Turks, or Ouigours, began to develop at the expense of the Turks proper, whose sphere of activity always had its centre at shifting-points lying between the Russian frontiers of to-day and the Great Wall of China.

But the Turkish chieftains serving the Chinese as native administrators soon began to chafe under foreign restraint, and towards 680 two princes of the Asena house raised the standard of revolt. Nothing much came of their efforts until, in 682-3, a sort of grand-nephew of Gheri, called Kütlug, after making some successful raids upon the Tölös and Ouigour tribes of the Selenga, established his position

firmly as *khagan*. He was assisted in this enterprise by the defection of Ashite, or Asete, Yüan-chên, a Turk who had been a page-hostage at the Chinese Court, and who had, since his father's death, taken over the hereditary command, under the Chinese proconsulate, of a mediatized tribe near the modern Kuku-koto—the Tenduc of Marco Polo. The Chinese official narrative goes on to give an account of the numerous raids made by these two men, of the death of Asete in a battle with the Türgäs branch of the Western Turks, and of the death of Kutlug in 692. I must note here, in view of certain knotty points which will be raised anon, that Asete was the next Turkish clan in point of nobility after that of Asena, whilst Yüan-chên is a purely Chinese personal name such as the renegade Turk would probably soon abandon in the freedom of his native deserts. Kutlug was succeeded by his brother Merchör, or Meghchör, who reigned till 716 with great power and glory, completely regaining the lost empire of Gheri, re-establishing his indirect authority over the Western Turks and the Tungusic provinces, defeating the Chinese in numerous frontier battles, and carrying his influence into Persia and Tibet. In his old age Merchör grew tyrannical and grasping, and the consequence was that the outlying tribes began to fall off; it was after a successful campaign on the River Tola against the Bayirku tribe that he fell into an ambush and was killed. Kutlug's second son, the *teghin* of Köl, now made a *pronunciamento* in favour of his elder brother Mercrén, or Meghkren, murdered nearly the whole of Merchör's relatives and high officers, and set Mercrén upon the khanly throne with the title of Bilga *khagan*. One of the very few who escaped massacre was an aged statesman named Tunyukuk, who was spared by reason of his daughter having married the new ruler; but even an old man of seventy was thought too dangerous to retain at headquarters, and so Tunyukuk was deprived of his ordo offices, and sent back to govern his own province or tribe. Meanwhile, the Türgäs and the Tunguses, who had grown restive under Merchör's tyranny,

began to make arrangements with China with a view to crushing the Central Turks, and in consequence Bilga was so alarmed that he had to hastily beg old Tunyukuk to incontinently resume his functions as state adviser. Bilga's policy towards China was peaceful, and among other things he was extremely anxious to be honoured (like his rivals the Tibetans and Tunguses) with a more or less genuine Chinese wife. The Chinese Empire having now been at peace for a few years, the Emperor was anxious to celebrate the occasion by making a pilgrimage, customary on such occasions, to a sacred mountain near Confucius' birthplace in East China; but he was afraid that even the peaceful Bilga, when supported by such a brave warrior as the *teghin* of Kōl, and by such an arch-schemer as Tunyukuk, might find, in the absence of the Chinese Court "on tour," a tempting excuse for attacking the capital of Si-ngan Fu (the place where, about this time, the celebrated Nestorian stone was erected). It was therefore arranged, after mature and sagacious deliberation, to send a mission to Bilga in order to buoy up his hopes of getting a girl, and at the same time to pay him the "compliment" of inviting some of his highest officers to join the Imperial train, thus securing hostages for the Turks' good behaviour whilst the Chinese Court was away "in camp." Nothing in Chinese history gives a more vivid picture of Turkish life than the description of these negotiations: how the crafty Chinese envoys were received in the royal tent by the Khan, the Khatun his wife, his brother Kōl, and his father-in-law Tunyukuk. In almost every detail it might have been copied from some of the Greek accounts, as translated by Professor Bury, of the Roman missions sent to the camp of Attila in Hungary. The Chinese, as usual, gained their immediate point by falsely promising to use their favourable influence with the Emperor, touching the grant of a wife, if the Turks would support the request in person by sending high officers to join the Emperor in his peaceful pilgrimage. The chief envoy sent was Asete the *kharapid*, and this very distinct

fact is further emphasized by the casual statement that during the Imperial procession the Emperor shot a hare, which the same Asete "retrieved" for his Majesty, and obsequiously laid at his feet. But Bilga never got the wife, though after that almost annual missions were sent to China. On one of these occasions the Turkish envoy Meilug Chör was very handsomely banquetted; this statement is interesting, because the Emperor, in view of Turkish pressure, had now as good as given way on the subject of a wife, and the last Chinese announcement is that Bilga Khan was poisoned in 734 by the said Meilug Chör, but lived long enough to superintend the massacre of the assassin and all his brood. He was succeeded by several of his sons in succession; but before ten years were out this second Turkish Empire, founded by Kutlug in 682, disappeared for ever, and in 745 the whole inheritance may be said to have passed over to the Ouigours. The usual transformation scenes followed, just as they had done in old Hiung-nu times. The Tunguses (the Cathayans and the Nüchêns, or modern Manchus) had an innings in North China for 300 years; then came the Mongols (one of the petty Turkoid tribes of the Tola-Orkhon region); then for 300 years the native Chinese Ming dynasty; and finally the Manchus.

Now, the point of the whole story is this: If we had not found any ancient Turkish and Chinese memorial inscriptions, the positive statements of Chinese history, however interesting, would have stood upon precisely the same basis as their equally positive statements about the Turks' progenitors, the mysterious Hiung-nu. Turkish history, as told by the Chinese, is to a very limited extent confirmed by Arab and Persian authorities; but the newly-discovered Turkish records form a link between the two, and shed from right to left a double light upon both Eastern and Western records, concealed hitherto by intervening darkness the one from the other. Moreover, an absolutely new script has been discovered and deciphered, and this script confirms the Chinese accounts, so that there can be no question of



"cooking" evidence. The writing has been proved by Dr. Thomsen, who discovered the key to it through the oft-recurring words "Türk" and "Köl *teghin*," to be a form of Aramæan (probably the Sogdian variety), and both Chinese and Turks mention Sogd as being under the Turks at the time Kotaiba and his Arab legions came East.

The Chinese Imperial memorial tablets in honour of the above-named Bilga Khan, and his younger brother the *teghin* of Köl, have already been described (*Academy*, December 21, 1895), and it is therefore sufficient to state here that they confirm the statements of Chinese history in a most satisfactory way. But perhaps the most remarkable thing of all is to find that the Chinese word *K'ieh* (known to have once had the "power" *K'iet*, which by a sort of Far-Eastern Grimm's law becomes *K'iel* or *Köl* in modern Corean) stands for the Turkish *Köl* of 1,200 years ago. The importance to philology of such chance-discoveries as these, which are proved to be correct by the Sogdo-Aramæan-Turkish inscriptions dedicated to the same brothers on the same spot, is almost as great as the importance to the science of history of the ample further proof that the Chinese chronicles can be absolutely trusted to describe foreign matters of over '1,000 years' antiquity with good faith; and therefore that we are pretty safe in accepting analogous Chinese statements as far back as the date of true history and of portable cheap writing material—say, B.C. 300 at the very least.

The specific and immediate object of my present paper is to draw attention to the very remarkable further discovery of Madame Klementz, who two years ago (1897) found at Bañ Tsokto (thirty miles east of Urga) the stone sarcophagus of Tunyukuk, together with two square pillars recording in his own words his great services to Kutlug, whom he styles Elteres Khan. Tunyukuk also alludes shortly to the glorious reign of Merchör, whom he calls Kapagan Khan; he then states that his own declaration or lament (which has a Bismarckian ring of disappointment

about it) was composed in the reign of Bilga Khan, *i.e.*, not earlier than 716. It so happens that both the Turks and the Chinese give "Bilga" Khan as the name of Kutlug's eldest son and Merchör's successor; but, apart from this direct evidence, the events described in the sixty odd lines of Tunyukuk's inscription, and the specific mention made therein of brothers, uncle, nephew, and so on, prove beyond doubt that Elteres and Kapagan are simply the Chinese Kutlug and Merchör. The difference in nomenclature almost certainly arises from the *tabu* of private names on the Turkish side, and from the persistence of the Chinese in ignoring the rights of *tabu* on the Turkish side, the rule having always been that all the world must name itself to the Emperor, who alone is *tabu*; unless, that is to say, the Son of Heaven as a special favour grants the "right not to use your private name," which was twice done to the Khans, or Zenghi (as I have ventured to call them in my *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*), of the ancient Hiung-nu.

Tunyukuk's inscription has recently been translated, in his usual admirable and thorough style, by Dr. W. Radloff, of the Imperial Russian Academy. His work *Die Inschrift des Tonjukuk* is supplemented by a very learned *Nachworte* by Dr. Fried. Hirth of Munich. Finally, the volume containing the above two excellent treatises is enriched and completed by a paper on the *Arabischen Quellen*, bearing upon the subject of the seventh and eighth century Turks, contributed by Professor W. Barthold, the whole being in German, but happily printed in the Roman instead of the Gothic character. Dr. Hirth, who has already well established his title to be considered one of our soundest and most cosmopolitan sinologists, very properly describes Dr. Radloff as the *Beichtvater* of Turkish inscriptions. On the other hand, Dr. Radloff, in summing up the results of Professors Hirth and Barthold's labours, leaves them, each a perfectly free hand in his own department, and shows no disposition whatever to encroach upon the privileges of those *Fachmänner* in their own speciality.

The limits accorded to me by the obliging editor of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* do not permit me to enter at length into such intricate questions as the identity of this or that Turk, Ouigour, or Kirghiz tribe; the exact branch of the Upper Selenga, Upper Irtish, or Upepr Yenisei, such and such armies actually crossed; when certain exactly identified historical persons took part in this or that war; or the precise way in which the Turks counted their years, arranged their decimals, or began their legal day. All these, and scores of other specific technical points around which the battle of sinologues and turkologues still rages, will be discussed at length in the next *China Review*, whose printing resources fortunately permit of the lavish use of Chinese character, so necessary for full elucidation: to that publication I refer those who take a special interest in precise details. I may, however, here mention one point which forms a pivot about which turns a very bold and far-reaching theory propounded by Dr. Hirth. He suggests, and indeed attempts to prove, that the renegade Asete Yüan-chên, or Turkish page with a Chinese name, who deserted his masters the Chinese in order to follow the rising star of Kutlug, was one and the same person with Tunyukuk; moreover, that Asete the *kharapid*, who went as envoy to China in 725, was the same person as Tunyukuk, and therefore as Asete Yüan-chên. The chief grounds upon which Dr. Hirth bases this very remarkable, not to say audacious, theory are (1) that whilst the Chinese do not mention Tunyukuk previous to 716, Tunyukuk says nothing about himself subsequent to 716; (2) whilst the Chinese say Asete Yüan-chên assisted Kutlug to establish himself about 682-3, and was killed in a fight with the Türgäs about 690, Tunyukuk says nothing of Asete Yüan-chên at all, but ascribes identical services to himself, including the Türgäs War (minus, of course, the death). Dr. Hirth's theory is that the Chinese were mistaken or misled to believe in Asete Yüan-chên's death; that this wily personage "played 'possum" in order not to spoil the game of Merchör, who was at first disposed to try diplomacy with the Chinese;

worked his Bismarckian schemes as Prime Minister under the (true or assumed) Turkish name of Tunyukuk ; and went to China under the name and title of Asete the *kharapid* in 725. At first sight this appears to prove a little too much, for if Tunyukuk was so anxious to hide from 690 to 725, why should he run his diplomatic old head into a noose at the age of nearly ninety ? In any case, why deliberately use the traitor name of Asete when trying on the little scheme ? Besides, Chinamen, though cowards then as now, have never been what Rudyard Kipling would call "bloomin' idiots," and the traders or adventurers among the Turks would soon have discovered the disguise. Again, where shall we find in the whole of Chinese history a case where a man of mark is positively described as killed when he is not killed, or, at least, later on discovered to be alive ? However, Dr. Hirth is not a Terrien de la Couperie ; nor is he in the habit of discovering Phœnician sea-ports in North Shan Tung, or Babylonian weasels in Chinese clouds, as that brilliant Orientalist was rather too apt to do. We must therefore treat his theory with becoming respect, and endeavour to find out if it is free from leakage when turned round in every direction. This I have attempted to do in detail in the *China Review*.

One suggestion made by Dr. Hirth is of great interest. The discovery of Bilga and Köl's monuments had already enabled us to identify the mysterious Chinese word "*yehu*, pronounced as though *zehu*," with the *jabgu* of the Turks. But the Turks' progenitors, the Hiung-nu, had an equally mysterious official called the *hihou*, which the "Grimm's law" of China enables us to trace back to *yep-ghou*, just as *yehu* may be traced back to *yapghu*. Thus the *Scharfsinn* of Dr. Hirth enables us to add one more Hiung-nu word to our Turkish vocabulary.

To sum up our knowledge of the ancient Turks. The Chinese had already told us they were practically the same as the ancient Hiung-nu : we had already perceived that one or two Hiung-nu words resembled modern Turkish (though I must confess the officers of the ill-fated "Erte-

groul," the Sultan's envoys to China in 1889, were unable to identify any for me); and the Greeks told us of the mysterious Khan Dizabul, and his *tarkhan* Tardu. We now possess an absolutely new written language, existing side by side with Chinese inscriptions, meaning much the same thing as the Turkish. We find accounts in Turkish and Chinese of the second empire of the Turks, founded by Kutlug in 682, and practically lost under Kutlug's grandsons in or about 740. These inscriptions refer back to the first empire of the Turks, which sent missions to Constantinople in the latter part of the sixth century, and was "cut up" by China in 630. If discoveries and identifications go on at this rate, we may hope soon to find out not only all about the first Turks, but also a good deal concerning their predecessors the Hiung-nu; their rivals the ancient Tunguses; the Hephthalites, who, coming from China in the third century before Christ, found themselves clashing with the Greek kings of Bactria; and so on.

Perhaps I may be permitted to call attention here to M. Gabriel Devéria's\* recent discovery that the celebrated and hitherto impenetrable "Nüchên" inscription in the Pass north of Peking is not Tungusic at all, but Tangut (a sort of Tibetan). The other day I came across a passage in Mongol history which appeared to me to be the Emperor's order to carve this identical inscription. I just mention this fact here because, in a recent *précis* I sent to the *China Review* of M. Pozdneyev's historical chapter (Russian) on Manchuria, I repeated his erroneous statement that the Nank'ow Pass inscription (given in Yule's "Marco Polo") was Nüchên (*i.e.*, Old Manchu), whereas it is Tibetan. The steppes of Mongolia and Manchuria may yet throw up for us very valuable matter; even as it is, we know quite as much of the Chinese Hiung-nu as we do of the European Huns.

\* I regret to hear (as I correct this proof) from that most industrious and sympathetic of sinologues, M. Edouard Chavannes, of the death of our mutual friend Devéria from rupture of an aneurism. No one has done more accurate or conscientious work in historical research than he, and his death is an irreparable loss to us all.

## "A GLANCE AT NIGERIA."

BY HAROLD BINDLOSS,

Author of "*In the Niger Country*."\*

To present an adequate idea of the lower Niger region to anyone unacquainted with the climatic conditions and chaotic admixture of races prevalent in Western Africa is a somewhat difficult task. There is little established order, for the customs of one tribe often differ as widely as their language from those of their neighbours in the adjoining swamp, and, in spite of the efforts of Protectorate officials and the hard-worked servants of the Royal Niger Company, still less law. The changes of surroundings are even more striking. In one district it is hard to find a yard of soil which will bear the human foot, and the tribesmen live in rickety huts perched above rotting mud, or sometimes in canoes, among a foul waste of putrefaction beyond the imagination of those who have not seen it. And just outside that belt of dripping mangroves one finds firm dry land crowned by stately palms and cotton-woods, where tall white lilies cover the steamy mould and a wealth of gorgeous creepers hangs from the great boughs above. Also there are lake-like river reaches ringed about with giant reeds and beaches of silver sand, and so the pen is utterly at fault, for one spot may appear a terrestrial paradise, and another much more resemble a corner of the lower regions. Of some the free-spoken traders say there is but a sheet of brown paper between that place and hell, while the heat upon the upper side is equal to that below. The writer ventures to quote this, because it is a characteristic description met with all along the West African coast.

Still, roughly speaking, British Nigeria may be divided into two portions, the forest-wrapped, reeking delta, and the drier land beyond. The first commences by Lekki

\* Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

lagoon on the Lagos border, and stretches some three hundred and fifty miles south and east to the Rio del Rey and the German Camaroons. Right along this strip of coast dense jungle creeps down to the edge of the surf which eternally sweeps the yellow sand while its spray hangs like white smoke over the river mouths. There are many of these, connected by uncounted creeks with one another and the parent waterway, each obstructed also by a thundering bar—the Benin whose dangerous entrance is seldom attempted; Forcados which serves as a harbour for Lagos a hundred miles away, as well as a general gathering place for West African steamers; the Nun upon whose mouth Akassa stands; the Brass which oozes past the swamps of the Nimbi cannibals; New Calabar, Bonny, Opobo, and Old Calabar; and last the international boundary, Rio del Rey. There are, of course, others less important commercially, and an endless succession of mangrove-shrouded creeks, many as yet uncharted and to white men unknown.

Among them lie the foulest swamps in the world, millions of acres of rotting mud and mangroves beneath whose twisted roots black slime comes drifting down, though here, too, are dry forests and strips of glaring sand intersected by yellow waterways whose smell is that of an open sewer. The European factories stand beside them, generally some five or six miles inland from the smoking bar, though a few are very much further, and one West African settlement is very like another. There is the trader's dwelling, a damp-soaked, wooden building roofed with corrugated iron and perched high aloft on piles, long, whitewashed oil and salt sheds about it, and a stockade running round, while each foot of land beneath them has been "made," sand being endlessly shovelled in among the roots of the felled mangroves, and the whole pinned together by the driving of heavy piles. A settlement generally consists of four or five of these, with a well-kept Consulate, and barracks for the black constabulary.

After several centuries of European trading they are not numerous, and commencing westwards extend as follows—Benin just below the once blood-stained city of Ubini; Warri a day's steam from Forcados river on the edge of a dry forest; and Sapelli behind it on a crystal river, luxuriant with the deceitful beauty of the tropics, for, though this is hard to believe, it is as deadly as any. Next comes Akassa, the Chartered Company's great depot, with its huge store-sheds, and machine-shops, on the Nun river. Then there is Brass beside the next tide-waterway, with its hard-worked mission, and cannibal tribes close by; New Calabar; and Bonny, curious misnomer, where beside the white factories and mission town a large native population, drunken, diseased, and savage, dwell in filthy squalor among the mangroves. Here some years ago a sable ruler perpetrated a huge fraud on the good missionaries, obtaining heavy subsidies for the laudable purpose of spreading Christianity among his people, and it was evident they needed it. The subsidies were chiefly spent in gin, and more than one white preacher was glad to escape alive; but they have since made progress in Bonny. Next comes Opobo whose inhabitants were lately notorious for fetiche cruelty. And last but not least important Old Calabar. As in the case of the rivers there are others of minor note, but most of them would come under the trader's rough classification of "forsaken places."

Throughout the whole of this region, and there is no blinking the painful truth, white men die like flies, as they have done from the beginning. Common malaria, dysentery, cholera, the deadly blackwater-fever, jaundice, and even yellow Jack levy heavy toll on them, and this is not surprising in a land which for months together is rolled in steam and swept by deluge, and then lies sweltering under a pitiless sun while foul swamp and muddy river give up their poison. Of course some men never take fever, but these are not numerous, and sanitary science may do a little, though one



cannot drain the vast mudbank delta, and it will probably continue a black man's land. Nevertheless, much merchandise goes in and out, chiefly Hamburg gin, Manchester cotton, and Cheshire salt, besides the sundries which appeal to the negro's mind, cast-off uniforms, brass jewellery, and the like. It ships many thousand tons of palm-oil, more still of the little black kernels which are afterwards crushed for oil, and some rubber, while this trade resembles that of no other part of the world.

The black merchant takes the piece of cotton, case of gin, or bag of salt, and passes it on inland up leagues of river, or through tangled forest on the slave carrier's head, paying toll by portions to each robber King on the way, until at last the residue vanishes into the little known Soudan. Then he brings down palm-oil, kernels, or rubber, and the rights to the inland markets are sometimes grimly fought over, while white officers are kept busy with armed launch and black soldiers preventing some mutinous potentate murdering the carriers, or levying such toll on his river that he closes it to trade. Almost incessantly this arduous work goes on, for there is always trouble somewhere in the bush, which generally ends in the burning of stockades, and sometimes in white officers blundering into a murderous ambush. So the policing of the Niger delta is done at a heavy cost.

The white merchant also suffers grievously carrying on this trade. Heat, steam, rain, and fever break his constitution down, and these are occasionally helped by native poisons. Still, and it shows the dogged persistence of the race, the commerce of the British West African colonies goes up by leaps and bounds, and most of the men who dwell there clearly recognising they are near death treat their daily life as a lottery, and therefore do not hesitate in the matter of personal risk. Perhaps in no part of our dominions have more reckless things been done by handfuls of men than in the Niger Protectorate and the possessions of the Chartered Company. The true

stories of some would surpass the feats of heroes of medieval romance, while there have been few instances of self-sacrificing valour to equal that of the unarmed march to Benin. From what two of those who fell there told him, the writer feels convinced that most of the white leaders recognised they were going to their death, and yet, in the forlorn hope of maintaining peace, they went carrying no weapon. But this aspect of life in our dominions abroad must be left to abler hands.

Most of the delta's inhabitants, and those of the region adjacent thereto, the Jakkeries, Sobos, Idzos, Igarras, and other similar tribes, may still be described as—savages. They are traders all of them, but they are robbers, too, and throughout the coastwise region human sacrifice, cannibalism, and horrible rites of fetiche worship are to-day prevalent. Neither is it flattering to recognise that the nearer one approaches the surf-edge the worse matters become, for nowhere is the contrast greater between a quasi civilization and darkest barbarism. Within ten miles from the Government Consulate and white traders' factories, sometimes within one, you may find a fetiche village where the tribesman lives to-day as he did probably a thousand years ago, except that he drinks gin instead of palm wine, and waylays his neighbour with a flintlock gun. The officials do their best, and many perish attempting the impossible, but one sickly Vice-Consul and his score of Yorubas cannot be everywhere, and so, with the exception of a few mission villages and a crop of untrustworthy black clerks, contact with Europeans has so far done little to change the status of the deltaic negro. It is not a pleasant conclusion, but there is no use shirking it.

The history of this region is a varied one. The first comers seem to have been the Portuguese in the middle ages, and traces of their presence are still occasionally found. These sailed in search of the Niger mouth, and never recognised they had found it. When the avenging expedition marched into Old Benin articles of native sculpture were discovered

bearing rude representations of men in steel headpiece and armour, who, so tradition said, dwelt there in forgotten times. And yet until a few years ago but four or five Europeans had ever revisited the fetiche city. For centuries afterwards other white adventurers came, sweltering and dying in their dismantled vessels as they slowly filled the holds, or building rickety factories among the creeks ashore. There they fought with the natives and also among themselves, died by scores of fever or spent their brief lives in wild riot, for many were fierce free-lances from Liverpool and Bristol slavers and privateers. But the trade was steadily growing, and after Lander in 1830 first proved this was the Niger there was a sudden influx of higher class British traders. In due time many rivals combining founded the United Africa Company, which in 1882 was changed into a still larger corporation, with sufficient English capital to buy, and probably edge, French intruders out, and this in 1886 received a charter constituting it the Royal Niger Company, with powers of life and death over a great dominion. In 1885 a British Protectorate was established over the region south of the Benue confluence, and between Lagos and the Rio del Rey, and in 1893, after various treaties with France and Germany, this was formulated into the present Niger Coast Protectorate, whose boundaries and those of the Company with the consent of France were defined last year.\*

Now the Royal Niger Company has done much excellent work, keeping order among the tribesmen, exploiting the waterways, and opening up the vast northern region to British influence, and to do this its servants have spared neither blood nor money. Probably a simple relation of many of its officers' doings would not be credited. Also, while the British Government was supinely content to foster trade, or, as a few said, hamper it, with the unhealthy coast, the great Chartered Company was steadily working its way into the hinterland, a healthier region

\* See our *Notes on Nigeria* p. 410.—(Ed.)

peopled by intelligent races of Moslem faith. Still, independent traders complained bitterly about the monopoly, for to all practical purposes monopoly it was, and pointed out that this was too vast a district to be handed over to one company, while it was clearly evident to the thoughtful and those who had seen the system at work that no commercial company, whose aim is after all dividends and not philanthropy, can use the powers of life and death so justly as the Government. Indeed, there were rivals who stated that the murderous raid of Akassa was provoked and partly warranted by high-handed action on the Company's side and curious stories have been told about the rough and ready justice administered by its officials. In all this there may have been exaggeration, as there was clearly animus, but when a white trader holds absolute power far up in the bush under some circumstances he is apt to lose his head. In any case, the great Company broke ground very thoroughly, and it was only fair for a time at least it should alone gather the fruit of patient labour, and in the end receive compensation for ceding its possessions to the Government.

And, from the schedule submitted, the British Government will on its consummation have secured a bargain: control over a great region extending roughly ten degrees four-square, at a price, when all is completed, of some £900,000. Also, so far we have only seen the worse side of the picture. It is probable that little of Nigeria is, for Europeans, exactly healthy, but the interior is much better than the coast. Instead of the reeking chaos of mangrove swamps, through part of it the Niger rolls down past park-like scenery, rolling prairie country dotted with groves of trees. In others it pours frothing through rock-walled valleys, with sun-scorched peaks hanging over them, and there are great lake-like openings studded with fruitful islands and cultivated banks. Further, as one travels north the character of the native changes, for there the teaching of Islam has set its usual stamp upon the negro race.

Instead of naked devil-worshippers who though they trade a little spend most part of their time in blissful idleness or robbing each other, one finds an intelligent people, robbers also sometimes, but obeying a central authority, skilled in many arts, and organized in arms. Physically, too, the hinterland negro Moslem is widely different. He may not have the great muscular development of the Oil Rivers paddler, but he bears a certain stamp of capacity and mental superiority. It may be mentioned in reference to this matter that the Niger Constabulary both of Government and Company who keep order through the delta and bear the brunt of the frontier fighting are composed almost exclusively of Yorubas from the Lagos hinterland, and Haussas of Sokoto.

The eyes of the adventurous have of late been turned longingly towards northern Nigeria, and though even yet a portion of it is but little known it is generally granted to be a land of promise. Twice in earlier ages it was a power in Africa when the Kingdom of Songhay and its neighbour of Bornu made their power felt westwards towards the Gambia and eastwards towards the Nile, when there seems to have been a high degree of civilization prevalent. Then after a lapse of long years Sokoto rose from the wreck of Songhay, and the name of Emir Othman was feared and respected throughout the Western Soudan. Once more Sokoto has fallen from its former glory, but traces of its military prowess and laws remain, and there is more than a prospect that under judicious rule its people may be lifted to a state equalling that of olden days.

It must never be forgotten that these are not negro savages, but men of mixed extraction with Moorish and Arab blood in their veins, whose forbears if some records do not lie did much the same for the land they invaded as their kinsmen in Spain. Even now their caravans travel all over northern Africa, there are powerful merchants whose commerce extends from Fezzan to Guinea, mosques and schools, for, whatever be the faults of the Arab

and his relations hitherto he has done more than any white man to open up the wastes of Africa. It is an old story dealt with many times before, but the teachings of Islam even when proclaimed with sword and brand possess a power of raising the negro from a state of naked savagery and making him a useful producer or at least a soldier.

France has clearly recognised this, and her officers have been tirelessly exploiting the hinterland, while our Government, after listening often to deputations of merchants who greatly desired to make the situation plain, has in this respect of late years done mainly nothing. Now the result is apparent. The Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast have been cut off from the inland region where alone there is any hope of founding a white man's colony, and save for the foresight of the Chartered Company upper Nigeria might also have fallen into the hands of France. When one hears old stories of Emirs' cavalry bodyguards wearing silver corselets and splendidly mounted on desert horses, of one Sultanate ruling a thousand miles of hinterland so well that costly merchandise might be laid anywhere beside the trade roads and no man dare touch it, and others of the kind, even if all are not wholly true there is hope for the restoring of a great province. And again an advancing tide of Islam is rolling south, for the Mallah have already passed Lokoja, while it is not flattering to remember what they have done in the north, and then to contemplate the state of things just outside Bonny town, or to hear what the Brass cannibals whose haunts lie behind a British Consulate did when they sacked Akassa.

To give an idea of this region would require a book in itself. Even on its southern borders moving north along the river it has many large trading towns, where the native population live to some degree in peace and order, but being Company's stations, Abo, Asaba, Onitsha, and Lokoja are perhaps the best known to Europeans, and

Lokoja at the confluence of the Niger and Benue is the first Moslem town. It holds the gates to much of the Western Soudan. Men of many shades of colour and languages throng its streets, from the white and blue clad merchant of the semi-civilized north to the half-naked heathen trader of the deltaic swamps. Also a great military depot has been established there, and in any future troubles along the frontier the name of Lokoja will be prominent. Indigo is largely grown in the upper portions of Nigeria, and a beautiful native cotton cloth dyed with it is spun which commands a higher price than the Manchester product. Wide tracts are cultivated with high skill and method, and many other industries, including leather-work and metal-forging, are practised. There is much rubber in it and also ivory, though the latter sometimes travels south by a circuitous route to the French Gaboon. Besides others of lesser note, there are three populous cities, Kuka, Kano, Socoto, whose names are known over northern Africa, which though partly ruinous still show what they have been, but it may yet be said that few Europeans have much acquaintance with them. One result of a monopoly is that the holders of it do not encourage their servants to talk freely of the things they have seen. Now, however, when the door may be opened wide to every comer, there will probably be a sudden development of this part of Africa.

The first necessity is the building of light railroads, such as that which is started from Lagos towards the Yoruba country, for the great obstacle in the way of West African commerce is the lack of transport. Every pound of produce that goes in or out is carried on slaves' heads along foot-wide trails, sometimes ambushed by spear-armed marauders, or at least only safely passable on the payment of a heavy toll, or very slowly in dug-out canoes down muddy rivers, with the chance that some of the craft will never come out at all. And it would be interesting even close down to the coast to figure exactly how many stockades have been

blown up and how much blood of white officer and black soldier is poured out every year in the Niger delta to keep these trade-routes open.

There are sanguine traders who compare the northern Sultanates to a new India, while others predict we shall have both hands full before we break the power and check the depredations of every mutinous Emir, and then be saddled with a profitless burden after all. The former at least can point to what this land has been twice before, and they have tangible grounds to hope that with the building of steamers and railways, the maintenance of order, and equal justice, a still greater British Province may be built up upon the ruins of its fallen power.

Many Englishmen, some with full knowledge, and others with but dim glances into futurity, have died working for this, or have dragged out weary lives in sufferings manifold. What the full result of their toil will be no man as yet can say,—that only the future can show, but part at least will ere long be made clearly manifest. .



## THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

BY AFRICANUS.

FOR several years past the English newspapers have devoted much attention to Transvaal affairs, with the result that an imperfect acquaintance with South African history has been, in the minds of most of their readers, substituted for the blank ignorance which prevailed in 1881. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that the press, as a whole, has approached this very difficult subject with either knowledge or candour. One party will hear no evil, the other believe no good, about the Boer. It is apparently rare for any journalist who disapproves of the retrocession of the Transvaal to admit that the Boers have ever had genuine grievances. On the other hand, most of those who praise Mr. Gladstone's South African policy find it necessary to vilify the Uitlanders of Johannesburg. Very few writers have attempted to tell the story of the Transvaal as a connected whole. It is therefore hoped that an attempt to give a brief abstract of Transvaal history from a non-partisan point of view may not be without interest. The authorities on the period are in many cases conflicting, and it is not easy to reach the truth. In some cases facts are uncertain, and motives are always a matter for dispute. Moreover, the vexed questions in the Transvaal, one and all, await settlement, and it is difficult to examine the past dispassionately at a moment of extreme tension.\*

The South African Republic, as is well known, owes its existence to the "Great Trek" of farmers of French and Dutch blood who left Cape Colony for the North in 1836. Some pioneers had previously explored as far as Delagoa Bay, but the main emigration took place in 1836-37. A great deal has been written on the subject of the Trek, but the Manifesto published by Pieter Retief at Grahamstown

\* Written on September 15.

in January, 1837, seems to explain sufficiently the reasons for the emigration. In this he states that he and his friends "despair of saving the colony from those evils that threaten it in the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants who are allowed to infest the country in every part." They complain of the losses caused by the emancipation of the slaves, and the vexatious laws enacted respecting them; of the devastation caused by Kafir invasion, and of the unjustifiable odium cast on the farmers by missionary agents. It is indisputable that gross injustice was done to slaveholders by the terms of emancipation, that the removal of all restrictions from the movements of Hottentots and half-castes rendered order insecure, that the policy of Lord Glenelg towards the Kafirs was an insult and an injury to the colonists—Dutch and English alike,—and that the highly-coloured reports of various missionaries had created an extreme prejudice, both in Cape Town and in England, against the Border farmers. Comparatively few slaves, indeed, had been owned by the emigrants, but the hard measure given to the Western Province slave-owners was not calculated to inspire any confidence in the honesty of the Home Government. Lord Glenelg's frontier policy was a greater grievance. After a fierce war against the Kafirs, the colonists were told by the Colonial Secretary that they had been in the wrong, and were forbidden to profit by the results of victories gained by their aid. Moreover, the frontier farmers received no compensation for the losses sustained, which included the total destruction of 456, and partial destruction of 350, farmhouses, and the loss of 5,715 horses, 111,930 head of cattle, and 161,930 sheep.

It is not surprising that the Voortrekkers left Cape Colony with feelings of dislike for British rule. The authorities were alarmed at the intended exodus, but Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, in August, 1836, publicly stated that "he was not aware of any law which prevents any of His Majesty's subjects from leaving his dominions and settling in another country." Mr. Oliphant,

the Cape Attorney-General, considered the case of the farmers parallel to that of emigrants from England to America, and concluded thus: "The Government therefore, if I am correct in my conclusions, is, and must ever remain, without the power of effectually preventing the evil, if evil it be."

Accordingly, Hendrik Potgieter, Pieter Retief, Pieter Uys, Gert Maritz, Andries Pretorius, and their followers, passed over the Orange River in successive parties. A certain want of unity among the leaders soon became apparent, and has been a marked feature of South African Republicanism up to the present time.

Hostilities at once broke out between the Boers and the Matabele. The latter tribe were an offshoot from the great Zulu nation, their leader Moselekatze having fled from the wrath of Chaka, and fallen upon the weak Bechuana tribes that inhabited the regions now comprised in the Southern Transvaal and the northern part of the Orange Free State. The Matabele were marauders, with no more right in the country than the Boers, and they attacked the latter in a most treacherous manner. After much severe fighting, the Boers finally drove them north of the Limpopo, where, falling on the Makalakas and Mashonas, Moselekatze founded a kingdom that lasted until his son Lobengula was expelled by the Chartered Company's forces in 1893.

Retief, who arrived after the first engagement, was unanimously elected Commandant-General. The main body of the Boers soon determined to occupy Natal, which was then a no-man's-land, devastated by Zulu raids, except where a small unofficial English settlement was established at Port Natal (now Durban). But Potgieter, Uys, and their parties remained west of the Drakensberg.

It is necessary to mention very briefly the history of the short-lived "Republic of Natal," as the subsequent events would otherwise be unintelligible. Retief, on an embassy to Dingaan, Chaka's son, was, with his companions, treacherously murdered, and a general attack by the Zulus

on the Boers followed, in the course of which a horrible massacre of detached parties of emigrants took place.\* The Boers, determined on revenge, were gallantly supported by individual Englishmen from Port Natal, while Potgieter and Uys came to the help of their kinsmen. On December 16, 1838, Pretorius completely crushed Dingaan's Zulus. Meanwhile, a small detachment of British troops took possession of Port Natal. These troops were withdrawn in December, 1839. But the Boers were in difficulties. Uys was killed in action with the Zulus, and Potgieter, who was on bad terms with Maritz and Pretorius, returned to the west. Maritz died shortly afterwards.

But dissensions among the Zulus brought a great change. Panda invoked the aid of the Boers against his brother Dingaan, the new allies were completely successful, Dingaan fled, and Panda was installed by Pretorius as King of the Zulus, and acknowledged the paramountcy of the Republic. In 1840 a regular Government was inaugurated. A Volksraad of twenty-four members was established, and arrangements made for raising a public revenue. The Raad was elected by the entire body of burghers, acting as one twenty-four-member constituency, and important questions were to be settled by meetings of "the public." In fact, the old Athenian form of "Ecclesia" found a place in the constitution. Landdrosts were appointed for executive work, but their power was nominal. In the meantime, a sort of loose confederation came into existence to the west of the Drakensberg, whither Potgieter had returned. The districts of Winburg and Potchefstroom (which may fairly be considered as, the former the nucleus of the Orange Free State, the latter of the Transvaal Republic) arranged to live under an "Adjunct Raad," and by agreement between Potgieter and Pretorius it was settled that, while either section was to be autonomous as regards internal affairs, the Adjunct Raad

\* It is presumably to these events that Mr. Spenser Wilkinson refers in a little book pretending to be impartial, when he says: "The Boers of Natal attacked the Zulus" ("British Policy in South Africa," p. 28).

might sit with the Natal Volksraad to discuss questions of common concern. At the same time, a good many families, settled between the Vet and Orange Rivers, did not acknowledge the authority of the Adjunct Raad. The Natal Boers, having settled their form of Government, were anxious to have it recognised, and accordingly opened communications with Sir George Napier, Governor of Cape Colony. Messrs. Badenhorst and Burger despatched a letter asking for "an acknowledgment of their independence, with the full rights of British subjects." This sentence shows the state of political education of some of the Republican authorities. However, Mr. Boshof, one of the leaders, was well educated and able, and his utterances are in a very different style. At this moment an appeal for protection was made to the Governor by Faka, chief of the Pondos, who was alarmed at a victory of the Boers over a small neighbouring tribe, the Bacas. British troops advanced into Pondo territory, and Sir George Napier, in June, 1841, summoned the Boers to acknowledge "their full and entire allegiance" to Queen Victoria, a demand against which they protested. Other causes of dispute were soon added. The Boers arranged to establish the refugees from various tribes who had entered Natal (in the hope of protection from Panda), on the southern border, where they would have formed an obvious danger to the British territories. An American trading brig, arriving at Port Natal, opened up communications with the emigrants, and was followed by a Dutch vessel, the *Brazilia*, under a Mr. Smellekamp. This gentleman, in his enthusiasm for the cause of his kinsmen, assured them, quite unwarrantably, of the protection of the King of the Netherlands.

The foundation of a sea-board Republic in South Africa, in independent communication with foreign Powers, clearly changed the entire political situation. A British force, under Captain Smith, at once occupied Port Natal, where it was soon besieged by the Republicans. The daring ride of Dick King from Durban to Grahamstown brought relief to the garrison. The Boers from Winburg, who had again

appeared on the scene, returned home. The Maritzburg Raad was in a state of anarchy. Prolonged negotiations ensued, but there was really no sovereign authority in the Republic. Finally the Raad submitted, Natal became an English colony, and the more determined of the Boers left the province and returned across the Drakensberg. It is to be noted that, in a despatch dated April 10, 1842, Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, maintained that "the allegiance which the emigrants owe to the British Crown is, according to the laws of the British Empire, an obligation which it is not in their power to disclaim, or to violate with impunity." This doctrine, whether sound or not, was in direct conflict with the official declaration of Mr. Oliphant, mentioned above. Natal was at first incorporated with Cape Colony, but became a separate Crown Colony in 1856, and obtained responsible government in 1893.

It has been necessary to deal with these facts, because, though many Boers remained in Natal, where their descendants are to-day, the majority reinforced their friends to the west of the Drakensberg; and the present South African Republic so far regards itself as a continuation of the Republic of Natal—that "Dingaan's Daag" is a national celebration in the Transvaal. It only remains to be noted that in 1843 Panda ceded St. Lucia Bay to the British Government, but that the British claim was never enforced until 1884, when the bay seemed in danger of falling into the hands either of Germany or the Transvaal.

A word must now be given to the attempt of the Imperial Government, made under missionary advice, to establish a cordon of native buffer-states between Cape Colony and the Emigrant Farmers. During the years 1843 and 1844 Sir George Napier and Sir Peregrine Maitland concluded treaties recognising a Griqua State under Adam Kok, a Basuto State under Moshesh, and a Pondo State under Faku. The scheme was impracticable. It was alike impossible to keep Europeans from entering these reserves, and to expect them, once entered, to live under the rule of

native chiefs. The Crown Colony of Basutoland is to-day the only relic of these treaty States.

Lord Stanley, in the despatch cited above, while declaring that the Boers could not denude themselves of British nationality, had remarked that, if they persisted in going beyond the bounds of British territory, they could not expect British protection. In fact, they were at once bound by the obligations and bereft of the privileges of British subjects. In 1842 Mr. Justice Menzies, having received, when on circuit from Colesberg, an appeal from Adam Kok, declared all South Africa between the 22nd degree of longitude, the 25th degree of latitude, and the Indian Ocean, to be British territory, with the exception of the possessions of the Portuguese and of native tribes. The country within these limits includes Griqualand West, the Orange Free State, and the greater part of the Transvaal. Sir George Napier at once annulled the proclamation. But the Boers were much incensed at the position of affairs. The Griquas, a race of half-bred Hottentots, were British subjects by birth, and yet their independence was guaranteed, while the allegiance of the Dutch farmers was still claimed by the Crown. In 1844 Potgieter's adherents, "the Council of Winburg and Potchefstroom," issued a declaration of independence. At the same time, the Boers practically ignored the existence of the Griqua State, which included a good deal of territory actually in the possession of emigrant farmers. British troops were moved up to protect the Griquas, and after a slight skirmish at Zwart Kopjes, 316 Boers submitted and took the oath of allegiance, the remainder retiring to Winburg. Moshesh the Basuto had by this time allowed many Dutch farmers to settle in his territory. Sir Peregrine Maitland concluded a new treaty with Adam Kok in 1845, but it is impossible here to trace the intricate course of negotiations with that chief and Moshesh. In 1846 Major Warden, Resident with Adam Kok, established a post at Bloemfontein.

Meanwhile Potgieter at Potchefstroom maintained communications with the Hollander, Smellekamp, and attempted to extend his territory to Delagoa Bay. Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, and Ohrigstad were founded, and the last-named village became the capital of the Transvaal Boers. Sequati, chief of the Bapedi (father and predecessor of the more famous Sekukuni) was forced to acknowledge the Boers' sovereignty. But between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, in the district of Winburg, disorder reigned. At the same time great hardships were caused in Natal by an ordinance calling on farmers to prove occupation of their farms for the twelve months preceding the arrival of Mr. Cloete (who had conducted the annexation). The country had been in a state of anarchy, and in many cases the farmers could not produce such evidence, and saw their lands confiscated. Pretorius went to appeal to Sir Henry Pottinger in Grahamstown, but was refused an audience.

In 1847 Sir Harry Smith, who was well liked by the Boers, came back to the Cape as Governor, and proceeded to the country beyond the Orange River. He saw Pretorius, endeavoured by redress of grievances to stop the exodus of Boers from Natal, and finally proclaimed British sovereignty over the territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers (the present Orange Free State). Pretorius and other dissentients established themselves beyond the Vaal, but many of the farmers who remained in the "Orange River Sovereignty" resented the annexation, and determined to resist. Pretorius was summoned to take command of them. Sir Harry Smith at once moved up from Cape Town, and defeated the Boers in a sharp engagement at Boomplats (August 29, 1848). Winburg submitted, and arrangements were made for the government of the Sovereignty, whose capital was fixed at Bloemfontein. Most of the malcontents moved beyond the Vaal, and a considerable number of colonists from Cape Colony settled in the new territory. Pretorius was outlawed,



and Potgieter was offered a magistracy in the sovereignty, but declined the appointment. Troubles soon came thick upon Major Warden, the Resident. Moshesh, with great skill, played off the malcontent Boers against the British Government. The Basutos gained a success over British troops at Viervoet, and the Republican party at Winburg invited Pretorius to return, and came to terms with Moshesh. The Basutos now confined their attacks to Loyalists, and Major Warden, left without an adequate force, was practically helpless. Pretorius made overtures to Major Warden for a definite settlement. It was evident that if he chose to ally himself actively with the Basutos, it would be impossible to hold Bloemfontein.

But Pretorius was not in a position to speak for the Transvaal Boers as a body. Potgieter and he were at open variance. There was no settled government in the Transvaal. In 1851 the Ohrigstad Raad created four co-ordinate Commandants-General, Potgieter retaining authority in the Zoutpansberg, and Pretorius in the South. At this juncture a meeting was arranged between Pretorius (whose outlawry was repealed) and two British Assistant-Commissioners, Major Hogge and Mr. Owen. On January 17, 1852, the Sand River Convention—the charter of Transvaal independence—was signed. Potgieter and his party resented their exclusion from the negotiations, but were finally reconciled with Pretorius, and the Transvaal Volksraad accepted the Convention.

It is necessary to examine this Convention somewhat closely, because the Government of the South African Republic hold that it should be read with the subsequent Conventions of 1881 and 1884, whereas Her Majesty's Government appear to consider it cancelled by the annexation in 1877.

Article 1. "The Assistant-Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government, and that no encroachment shall be made

by the said Government on the territory beyond, to the north of the Vaal River ; with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free-trade, and friendly intercourse with the Emigrant Farmers now inhabiting, or who hereafter may inhabit, that country, it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties."

Article 2 arranges, in case of misunderstanding, for a subsequent delimitation of boundaries.

Article 3. " Her Majesty's Assistant-Commissioners hereby disclaim all alliances whatever and with whomsoever of the coloured nations to the north of the Vaal River."

Article 4. " It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the Emigrant Farmers."

Article 5 arranges for mutual facilities and liberty to traders and travellers on both sides of the Vaal River.

Article 6 allows the " emigrant Boers " to obtain ammunition in British colonies and possessions, " it being mutually understood that all trade in ammunition with the native tribes is prohibited both by the British Government and the Emigrant Farmers on both sides of the Vaal River."

Article 7 arranges for the mutual extradition, " as far as possible," of criminals, and mutual access to courts of justice. Article 8 validates, for purposes of inheritance in British possessions, certificates of marriage issued by the proper authorities of the Emigrant Farmers. Article 9 allows free movement of all persons, except criminals and absconding debtors, between the British and the Boers' territories.

It has been argued that this document did not create a sovereign independent State north of the Vaal, on the ground that Article 4 limits the powers of the Emigrant Farmers. But if a promise to prevent such practices as slavery is held to invalidate the independence of the nation making it, it would be difficult to maintain that the Turkish Empire, for example, is a sovereign State. The Convention is obviously defective, but it seems to have been

universally considered, until lately, that it conferred absolute independence on the Transvaal. Perhaps the most serious defect was the absence of any clause defining the eastern or western boundaries of the Republic. Pretorius afterwards declared that he had been told informally by one of the Assistant-Commissioners that the Republic was at liberty to extend westwards, along the north bank of the Orange River to the sea.

From this point it will be possible to treat the history of the South African Republic separately, although references must be made in places to events outside the Transvaal borders. It must never be forgotten that South Africa is essentially one country, and that its political divisions are artificial.

The Convention drew a line, which has never been quite obliterated, between the Boers north and south of the Vaal River. The farmers of the sovereignty were deserted by their allies, and left to the authority of the Crown. However, difficulties with the Basutos broke out anew, the Home Government, in opposition to the wishes of many of the inhabitants of the territory, determined on withdrawal, and in 1854 the Convention of Bloemfontein gave complete independence to the Orange Free State. There has never been any question of suzerainty over the Free State; on the other hand, the position of Great Britain as the paramount Power in South Africa would, in the absence of any Convention, compel Her Majesty's Government to take cognisance of the proceedings of the two Dutch Republics.

The Sand River Convention was not followed immediately by the creation of any stable government in the Transvaal. But complaints and recriminations between the Boers and the British began early. The Boers were said to interfere with missionaries in Bechuanaland, while English traders were reported to be selling ammunition to Transvaal natives. In 1852 an expedition of the Boers against Sequati inflicted much damage on the Bapedi, but

failed to take their stronghold. In the same year a Boer commando against the Bakwena, a Bechuana tribe, pillaged Dr. Livingstone's house, and the Bakwena prisoners were "apprenticed" to farmers. In 1853 both Hendrik Potgieter and Andries Pretorius died, and thus the two ablest men amongst the Boers were lost to the Republic. Great confusion ensued. Hardly any taxes were paid, and there was nothing in the nature of a police. Potgieter's and Pretorius' parties continued their rivalry. In 1855 the Raad threw open the country to immigrants of good character from Europe, fixed the standard for acquisition of full burgher rights at a payment of £15 to the Treasury, but enacted that no non-burgher could own land. Native troubles continued, and excesses were committed on both sides. Ecclesiastical questions caused new discord. Finally, in 1859, the Separatist Reformed Church separated itself from the main body of the Dutch Reformed Church. Its members, nicknamed "Doppers," adopted primitive Calvinistic views, and though the "Doppers" have since spread to Cape Colony, and there are many members of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal, the religious separation has weakened the connection between these two Dutch communities. In 1857 a Constitution was drawn up, which superseded the loosely-worded "Thirty-Three Articles" adopted by the Potchefstroom Raad in 1844. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, son of Andries Pretorius, was elected President of the South African Republic. The districts of Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg at once repudiated his authority. Meanwhile the Orange Free State, under President Boshof, had come into existence, and Marthinus Pretorius proceeded to Bloemfontein, hoping to arrange for a union. An open quarrel broke out, and the forces of Boshof and Pretorius faced each on the field. Finally, a treaty was signed, by which the two Republics acknowledged their mutual independence. While Pretorius was filibustering in the Orange Free State, his deputy, Lombard, had declared the Zoutpansberg farmers

under Schoeman to be rebels. Lydenburg proclaimed itself an independent Republic in 1857. The "South African Republic," in spite of its high-sounding title, included little but Potchefstroom. Zoutpansberg, however, soon came to terms with Pretorius, and in 1860 a formal union took place between the South African Republic and the Republic of Lydenburg. Events were now complicated by the election of Pretorius as President of the Orange Free State. There was a strong unionist party on both sides of the Vaal, but personal rivalries again came to the front. Pretorius was compelled to resign the Presidency of the South African Republic. Mr. Grobbelaar was confirmed as Acting-President, but opposed by Schoeman (now a partisan of Pretorius), who succeeded in displacing him. Schoeman's proceedings caused an armed insurrection, led by Paul Kruger, who thus came into political prominence for the first time. A brisk civil war was carried on between Kruger and Schoeman, but the former soon took Pretoria—founded in 1855, and now growing into importance—and established his authority. In 1863 Van Rensburg was elected President, and another rising took place, resulting in a second civil war between Kruger and Viljoen. Next year Pretorius, his term of office in the Free State having expired, was re-elected President of the South African Republic, and Kruger became Commandant-General. Other native campaigns followed, and the Boers contracted an alliance with the Swazis, and opened relations with Cetywayo, son of the Zulu chief Panda. In 1865 the Zoutpansberg district fell into complete anarchy: it had become a haunt of white filibusters and black marauders, and a good many farms were abandoned, partly because of these disorders, and partly from the fever endemic in the district. In the south the Republic made a treaty of peace with Moshesh, and settled its boundary dispute with the Free State. Before the former event, a commando under Kruger had helped the Free State Boers against the Basutos. In the latter

case recourse was had to the arbitration of Lieutenant-Governor Keate of Natal, who pronounced in favour of the South African Republic. In 1868 gold was discovered in Tati, and President Pretorius issued a proclamation extending the boundaries of the Republic westwards to Lake Ngami, eastward to the sea, and northward into Mashonaland. Sir Philip Wodehouse and the Portuguese Government at once protested. The proclamation would have annexed Bechuanaland, put a stop to missionary enterprise, and cut off the road to the north. The Boers, though they admitted German missionaries, were bitterly hostile to English, disapproving of the native policy adopted by the latter, and have also shown hostility to those French Protestant pastors who have done such good work in Basutoland and Barotsiland. President Pretorius had to withdraw his claims, but the western boundary was left unsettled. In 1869 a treaty was concluded with Portugal. This event introduced a friendlier feeling towards Roman Catholics, and in 1870 religious freedom was for the first time introduced into the South African Republic.

A most important boundary dispute must now be noticed. The discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West caused a northward extension of British territory, the first sign of a reversal of the policy of the fifties. It is impossible to go into the diamond-field question here. Unquestionably the Orange Free State received very hard treatment from the Imperial Government. But besides Griqualand, some territory on the Vaal, claimed by the Barolong and the South African Republic, was in dispute. This second matter was referred to Lieutenant-Governor Keate for arbitration. He decided against the Transvaal—rightly, Dr. Theal thinks, on the evidence before him, but in effect unjustly, since the Transvaal case was very carelessly prepared. The Volksraad were furious, the award was not carried into effect, but Pretorius had to resign. A strong party desired to elect President Brand of the Free State, and thus unite the Republics. But it

was doubtful what effect such a union would have on the Conventions of 1852 and 1854, and President Brand was not inclined to accept the idea. Finally, in 1872, Mr. Burgers was elected President.

The election of Mr. Burgers marks the beginning of the modern history of the Transvaal. He was a man of ability and education, and a Cape Dutchman. He had been a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, but had resigned that office on account of his heterodox views. In temper, character, and aspirations he presented a complete contrast with the Conservative type, of which Paul Kruger is such a striking example. He desired to bring the South African Republic into the comity of nations, whereas his people for the most part preferred their old isolation. The new President was full of ambitious schemes, and paid a visit to Europe for the purpose of obtaining a loan. He established a mint, endeavoured to build a railway to Delagoa Bay, and attempted to introduce his citizens to the benefits of modern education. His visit to Europe opened up connection with the Netherlands, where he was well received, and inaugurated that Hollander immigration into the Transvaal, which has since had such marked results. Many Hollanders have filled educational and administrative posts in the Republic, which the Boer farmers were incapable of holding. But while the services of some able men—notably, Dr. Jorissen and Dr. Leyds—have been secured, a very bad feeling between “Afrikander” and Hollander still exists. The Boer looks on the newcomer as a degenerate townsman, who can neither ride nor shoot, while he resents his intellectual superiority. The attempts of schoolmasters to teach the Boer children “High Dutch,” instead of the “Taal” (the Afrikander patois) spoken by their fathers, caused general indignation. Although Dr. Leyds has for years been influential in directing Transvaal policy, he has never been popular among the Boers. The Hollander influx has been most marked since the retrocession, but its inception was due to President Burgers.

Under the new rules the affairs of the Republic did not prosper. The discovery of gold at Pilgrims' Rest introduced a new element and a mining population. The Transvaal became a South African Alsatia, where lawless spirits from all the colonies congregated. The Boers were very remiss in paying taxes, and disliked the President's new-fangled methods. A campaign against Sekukuni ended in disaster, while a frontier dispute with Cetywayo, who was now at the head of a fine military nation, threatened a new danger. The British Government, aroused by stories of ill-usage of the natives, addressed successive remonstrances to the Republican Government. It is only fair to say that the stories of Boer oppression seem to have been exaggerated. The system of "apprenticeship" can indeed hardly be defended, but English critics sometimes forget to-day that the Cape Government in 1897 carried out this same system at the expense of Bechuana rebels, and that their proceedings were not vetoed by Her Majesty's Government. The "apprentices" were generally the children of defeated natives against whom commandoes were sent, and it is asserted that the manufacture of native orphans became a lucrative business in the Transvaal. There was, however, no general return to slavery, as is shown by the fact that when the Transvaal was annexed no slaves were discovered by the British officials. The fact is that the authority of President Burgers, himself a humane man, was merely nominal, and that individual Boers on the frontiers had practically a free hand. The Republic was soon on the verge of bankruptcy. It is asserted that, after the annexation, the entire funds in the Pretoria Treasury amounted to twelve shillings and sixpence. The miners complained of the absence of decent government. Meanwhile native unrest was spreading through South Africa. It is significant that, between the years 1877 and 1882, the Gaikas and Gcalekas of the Transkei, the Basutos, the Zulus, and the Bapedi (Sekukuni's tribe) were all in arms against the whites.



In England Lord Carnarvon was working for a South African Federation on the Canadian model. The Orange Free State had favoured reunion with the Cape in Sir George Grey's time, but the Imperial handling of the Basuto and Griqua questions had in the interval alienated that State to an extent that was not understood at home. Still, President Brand was a moderate man of broad and statesmanlike views, and was probably prepared to meet Lord Carnarvon half-way. The Transvaal, however, constituted an obstacle to federation. It was thought that no engagements could be undertaken towards a moribund Republic, torn by internal dissension and threatened by Zulu inroads. We know now that there was in reality a strong national spirit among the Transvaal Boers, and that the Zulu danger was greatly exaggerated. The Boers understand Zulu warfare, and the sons of the conquerors of Dingaan would never have experienced an Isandhlwana.

However, Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent to Pretoria on a special mission in 1877, and on April 12 he issued a proclamation annexing to Great Britain the territories of the South African Republic. There was no actual opposition: President Burgers, after issuing a protest, retired on a pension, and British rule was peacefully inaugurated. Sir Bartle Frere, who is generally held responsible for the annexation, had no share or part in it.\* When he arrived as High Commissioner in South Africa, he found that Shepstone had acted without waiting to communicate with Cape Town. Frere accepted the situation, but the annexation took him by surprise.

Thus ended the first and less-known chapter of the Republic's story. Later events are much more familiar to English readers, and a short abstract is all that need be here attempted. The earlier history has been given in

\* It seems impossible to kill the false idea that Frere annexed the Transvaal. The English Liberals, who had perhaps never heard of Shepstone, founded the legend. I note that in an otherwise excellent article on the Transvaal in *Macmillan's Magazine* for September, 1899, the old blunder is repeated.

fuller detail because it affords excellent material for judging the ability of the Boers to govern themselves. Between 1852 and 1872 they were troubled by no Uitlander problem. They were left in complete liberty to settle their own political and ecclesiastical institutions, and to deal with native questions in their own way. While it is true that the indiscriminate charges of cruelty brought against them must be received with great caution, the bare record of events shows the fundamental error of those sentimentalists who represent the South African Republic as a pastoral Utopia.

At this point the "Grondwet" or Constitution of the Republic may be briefly examined. It was drawn up by farmers in disturbed times, and bears little resemblance to the ordinary idea of a "written Constitution." It is not even certain whether it is to be regarded as "rigid," like the American Constitution, or as "elastic." Its framers had never heard of such distinctions, and the question only became important when the Judicial crisis of 1897 shook the Republic. It is impossible here to examine the 148 Articles, but it is necessary to dwell on one or two points.

Article 4 states that "the people desire no extension of territory, except only on principles of justice, whenever the interests of the Republic render it advisable."

Article 6. "Its territory is open to every stranger who submits himself to the laws of the Republic; all persons who happen to be within the territory of this Republic have equal claim to protection of person and property."

Article 8. "The people claim as much social freedom as possible (*de meest mogelyke maatschappelyke vryheid*), and expect to attain it by upholding their religion, fulfilling their obligations, submitting to law, order, and justice, and maintaining the same. The people permit the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, subject to prescribed provisions against the practice of fraud and deception."

Article 9. "The people will not allow of any equality between coloured and white inhabitants, either in Church or in State."

Article 10. "The people will not brook any dealing in slaves or slavery in this Republic (*will geen slavenhandel, noch slaverny in deze Republiek dulden*)."

Subsequent articles entrust legislation to a Volksraad

chosen by the burghers entitled to vote, providing at the same time that a period of three months be given to the people for intimating to the Raad their views on any proposed law, "those laws, however, which admit of no delay, excepted"; constitute an Executive Council, "which shall also recommend to the Raad all officers for the public service"; grant liberty of the Press; restrict membership of the Volksraad to members of the Dutch Reformed Congregations; state that "the people do not desire to allow amongst them any Roman Catholic churches, nor any other Protestant churches except those in which the same tenets of the Christian belief are taught as are prescribed in the Heidelberg Catechism"; and give the Volksraad, except in time of war or imminent danger, the power of making treaties.

The Raad was to contain at least twelve members, who must be burghers of the Dutch Reformed Church, between thirty and sixty years of age, residents, and possessed of landed property in the Republic. Every burgher of twenty-one years of age was to possess the franchise, provided he was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. The President was to be elected for five years by the burghers, and was to be assisted by an Executive Council, consisting of the Commandant-General, two burghers entitled to vote, and a Secretary. All the able-bodied men of the country (with certain unimportant exceptions), including, if necessary, natives, were to be liable to commando. No native or bastard was to be admitted to the Raad.

The above description will give some idea of the Grondwet, which contains a good deal of miscellaneous matter not usually included in such documents.

The history of the Transvaal territory under British rule may be briefly discussed, as many well-known books deal with the subject. In spite of a Government proclamation that "the Transvaal shall enjoy the fullest legislative independence compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of its people," Messrs. Kruger and

Jorissen proceeded to England in 1877 to protest against the annexation. Lord Carnarvon was inflexible, but promised to consult the wishes of the Dutch in the government of the territory.

The first problem that met the British authorities was the Zulu boundary question. Sir Bartle Frere decided mainly in favour of the Zulus, but accompanied his decision with an ultimatum, and the Zulu War followed. In this several Boers, including the gallant Pieter Uys the younger, did good service, but the majority held aloof. The Zulus were crushed, and in 1879 Sir Garnet Wolseley conducted a completely successful expedition against Sekukuni, thus removing the "native danger." But the disaster of Isandhlwana was a great blow to British prestige, and murmurs of revolt were heard among the Boers. Messrs Jorissen and Kruger, however, accepted appointments and salaries from Shepstone. But no steps were taken to establish a representative assembly. Shepstone was an excellent autocrat, but the people had been promised representative government. Meetings were convened, and Messrs. Kruger, Joubert, and Bok set out on a second mission to England, where they found Sir Michael Hicks-Beach as firm as Lord Carnarvon. The Zulu troubles distracted the attention of the authorities, and Transvaal affairs were neglected. The Zulu War was fought mainly for the benefit of the Transvaal, but the Boers always resented the notion that they had been at the mercy of Cetywayo's Impis. Sir Owen Lanyon, who had done good work in Griqualand West, succeeded Shepstone as Administrator, and failed in a most lamentable way to conciliate the Dutch, of whom he does not seem to have had any real understanding. Sir Bartle Frere paid a visit to the Transvaal, and addressed a meeting of farmers; but he was soon superseded, as regards "South-east Africa," by Sir Garnet Wolseley. Very soon Mr. Gladstone's speeches in Midlothian inspired the Boers with the hope that the annexation would be reversed. But when the Liberal Ministry came into power in 1880, they held to

the maxim "Quod fieri non debuit, factum valet." Mr. Gladstone was deaf to the Boer appeals. Sir Garnet Wolseley had declared in Pretoria in 1879 that the Transvaal would remain British territory as long as the sun continued to shine. He apparently believed in the continuity of British policy. A considerable influx of English took place, and business in the Transvaal advanced rapidly. But the Administration made mistakes. Bok and Pretorius (the ex-President) were arrested on a charge of sedition, but at once released, and the latter was offered by Sir Garnet Wolseley a post on the forthcoming Legislative Council, which he declined. Sir Garnet was succeeded in Natal and South-East Africa by Sir George Pomeroy-Colley, and Mr. Gladstone, as is above noted, came into power at home. Discontent in the Transvaal grew. The Boers were simple folk in some ways, and could not understand why, if Mr. Gladstone really thought the annexation a gross act of injustice, he did not reverse it. It is plain that a retrocession in 1880, while it would have brought fierce attacks on the Ministry at home, would have changed the history of South Africa for the better. I do not wish to enter on the old controversy; but it is quite certain that, as retrocession was to take place, it would have been better for all parties if Mr. Gladstone had yielded to a respectful petition in 1880, instead of waiting to make terms with triumphant insurgents in 1881.

It was almost impossible to collect taxes from the farmers, and an attempt to levy a distraint on one Bezuidenhout, the bearer of a name famous in Afrikaner history, led to an armed revolt. In December, 1880, the Republic was proclaimed at Paardekraal. The 94th Regiment was cut off at Bronkhorst's Spruit, the small British garrisons in the various towns were beleaguered, and Sir George Colley, marching up from Natal, was repulsed at Laing's Nek, fought an indecisive action at Ingogo, and fell at Majuba. Sir Evelyn Wood was not allowed to take action. The Ministry at home determined on a complete reversal of

policy. Through the mediation of President Brand, negotiations were opened with the Boer Triumvirate, Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert. The besieged British garrisons, which had conducted a gallant defence, evacuated the country. A Commission consisting of the new High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson (afterwards Lord Rosmead), Sir Henry de Villiers (the Cape Chief Justice), and Sir Evelyn Wood, drew up the Pretoria Convention, which conferred on the Transvaal autonomy under British suzerainty.

The preamble, which is important, runs as follows :

"Her Majesty's Commissioners for the settlement of the Transvaal territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date the 5th April, 1881, do hereby undertake and guarantee on behalf of Her Majesty that from and after the 8th day of August, 1881, complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, upon the following terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations and limitations. . ."

It is unnecessary here to give the text of the Convention, which is easily accessible. The new state was to be styled "The Transvaal State" (a provision violated by the Boers, who at once resumed the title of the "South African Republic," with its old associations of independence). A British Resident was appointed, and the right to move British troops through the State guaranteed. External relations were to be under British control, and intercourse with foreign Powers to be carried on through Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers. The independence of Swaziland was guaranteed. Article 4 of the Sand River Convention, forbidding slavery, was reaffirmed in Article 16. Natives were to be allowed to acquire land, and to move about the country "as freely as may be consistent with the requirements of public order." Complete freedom of religion was established. Protection to Loyalists was guaranteed by the Triumvirate. The British Resident was given wide authority in native affairs—was, in fact, constituted as an official Protector of natives. The

boundaries of the State were defined, and it engaged not to transgress them. Article 26 must be quoted in full :

“ All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (*a*) will have full liberty with their families to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State ; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactures, warehouses, shops, and premises ; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ ; (*d*) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon Transvaal citizens.”

The Pretoria Convention was unsatisfactory from the first. The Boers had hoped to establish complete independence. Their leaders perceived, indeed, their extraordinary good-fortune in obtaining such terms. Sir Frederick (now Lord) Roberts was actually on his way to the Cape to take command, and a large British force was massed in Natal. But the Boer rank and file felt that they had risen to obtain complete independence, that they had been markedly successful in the field, and yet that complete independence was refused. The Home Cabinet were anxious to dispose of an unpleasant business, and may fairly be said to have made the Convention in a hurry. The Transvaal Loyalists were filled with shame and indignation. In spite of the paper guarantees for their protection, it was natural that a community like the Boers, after a victorious campaign, should make existence in the Transvaal unpalatable to British residents. In cases of successful rebellion, the adherents of the old régime are sure to suffer. It will be remembered that, at the close of the American War of Independence, the “ United Empire Loyalists ” migrated to Canada to escape the triumph of the Revolutionary party. But many of the Transvaal Loyalists were not in a position to leave their possessions.

The natives fared worse. They had looked on the British as their protectors against the Boers, and had received assurances of protection. Two Bechuana chiefs, Manko-ro-ane and Montsioa, had actually offered help to

the British during the war. They were now, although their territories lay outside the Transvaal boundaries, exposed to Boer raids.

In 1883 Messrs. Kruger, Du Toit, and Smit went to London to obtain better terms. The result of the Boer mission was the signing in 1884 of the Convention of London, which now governs in the main the relations between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal.

By this Convention the title "South African Republic" was formally restored. The right of moving British troops through its territories was tacitly dropped. The British Resident was replaced by a Diplomatic Agent. The Republic was allowed to negotiate on its own account with foreign Powers, but limitations on treaty-making were imposed. Article 4 runs as follows :

"The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen. Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa."

Article 8. "The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention, and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic."

Complete freedom of religion was promised. The Republic engaged to "do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachments upon lands beyond the boundaries laid down." Her Majesty's Government were given the right to "appoint Commissioners in the native territories outside the Eastern and Western borders," "to maintain order and prevent encroachments." The independence of Swaziland was reaffirmed. Article 14, of which we have heard so much lately, is a verbatim reproduction of Article 26 of the Pretoria Convention (quoted in full above), except that for the words "Transvaal State" are substituted the words "South African Republic."



Article 13 must be quoted in full :

“Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made, as provided in Article 4 of this Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty’s dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country ; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty’s dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South African Republic as to the like article coming from any other place or country. These provisions do not preclude the consideration of special arrangements as to import duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic and any of Her Majesty’s colonies or possessions.”

The history of the past fourteen years affords a striking commentary on the London Convention. The recent Parliamentary Paper\* on the Suzerainty Question reveals the carelessness with which Lord Derby treated questions of vital importance. It is, I think, quite clear that Her Majesty’s Government did not intend to waive the position of paramountcy which was expressed, not very happily, in 1881, by the title “suzerainty.” But the Convention of 1884 contains no declaration on the subject. It is, indeed, certain that the British right of veto over foreign treaties, settled in the seventh article, makes it impossible for the South African Republic to pose as an absolutely independent State. Further, the paramount position of Great Britain in South Africa, and the fact (amply recognised by the educated Dutch of Cape Colony) that all South Africa, Republican as well as Colonial, owes its safety from foreign aggression to the British Navy, combine to give the Imperial Government a legitimate claim to regard the South African Republic as within its sphere of control. But the insertion by Lord Derby of two words in the Convention of 1884 would have placed the Suzerainty Question beyond a doubt. The words were omitted as a tribute to Boer susceptibilities.

With no wish to be disrespectful to the authorities who have pronounced opinions on the suzerainty, the unpre-

\* C. 9507.

judiced observer must be struck by the futility of the arguments on both sides. The British case seems to be that the preamble of the 1881 Convention is to be read with the text of the 1884 Convention. The Boers consider that the latter Convention entirely abrogated the former. They point out with great force that many of the phrases of the Pretoria Convention are textually reproduced in that of London. The preamble is not. In reply to this, it has been argued that the latter Convention must be read with the former, because the very existence of the Transvaal State depends on the clause sanctioned in 1881 conferring self-government on the inhabitants of the Transvaal. To this argument the Government of the South African Republic have retorted by a somewhat vague declamation about inherent natural right. From such arguments "the plain man" turns with impatience. But it is at least arguable that the Convention of 1884 assumes the existence of an autonomous State in the Transvaal, whereas, so far as its words go, it does not assume the subordination of that State to British suzerainty.

Reference to the Sand River Convention of 1852 further confuses the matter. The actual opinion of the average educated Afrikaner of Dutch blood is this: The status of the Emigrant Boers before 1852 was uncertain. The Sand River Convention gave complete independence to the Transvaal. The Annexation of 1877 was never accepted by the people of the Transvaal, who protested against it, and, finding their protest unheeded, rose in arms. The Pretoria Convention of 1881 was imposed upon the Boers by the exigencies of the situation, but they were never satisfied with its provisions, and they directed all their efforts to the attempt to recover by diplomatic means the status that the South African Republic had enjoyed before the annexation. The Convention of 1884 was the result of their endeavour, and that Convention, by substituting for the name "Transvaal State" (which implied subordination) the old style of "South African Republic" (which implied

independence), and by the general tenor of its provisions, restored the South African Republic to its old position, with the important exception that the British Government is now given a certain right of intervention as regards the foreign relations of the Republic.

I do not state this as necessarily my own opinion, but as a view of the question held by many people in South Africa, which is, I submit, worthy of consideration.

The most curious thing about the whole question is this : The relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal Boers have been in the main governed by three treaties (1852, 1881, 1884) and one proclamation (1877). Now, these documents are in many respects mutually irreconcilable, but no one of them formally and expressly cancels any of the preceding. Are they to be read together? The Boers do not admit, and never have admitted, the validity of the Annexation proceedings, to which, they say, they were not a consenting party. As a matter of fact, their Volksraad was practically a consenting party. But they disallow the right of that Raad to sign away the national independence, just as a party in Ireland has never recognised the right of the Irish Parliament in 1800 to sign away the legislative autonomy of Ireland. But, putting aside for a moment the Annexation, and looking at the three Conventions, are they to be read together? In fact, is the record of the present position of the South African Republic to be found in that residuum of the three Conventions which is left after the elimination of all mutually destructive provisions? If so, who is to say what that residuum is?

I cannot follow this discussion further, but will point out that one article of the Sand River Convention (the agreement as to slavery) is repeated *as such* in the Pretoria Convention. And the same clause is again repeated and mentioned, as an article of the two earlier Conventions, in 1884. If we argue that the Sand River Convention is dead, because it was cancelled by the Annexation, the Boers reply that they do not recognise the Annexation. If we

say that the repetition of the slavery clause in 1881 shows that the Sand River Convention was obsolete, the Boers reply that the repetition of much of the Pretoria Convention in 1884 shows that that Convention, in turn, must be considered to have been abrogated. It is true that in 1884 Lord Derby told the Transvaal representatives that the Sand River Convention was cancelled; but the South African Republic does not seem to have formally accepted this doctrine.

From the above remarks it will perhaps be seen that it is a pity that Her Majesty's Government, since they feel sure of their position of paramountcy on general grounds, ever ventured into the legal discussion. Modern International Law was born in Holland, and the jurists at Pretoria are at least as subtle as those in London.

Reverting to the circumstances of 1884, it is impossible to avoid wondering, in the first place, why Lord Derby did not express his meaning in the Convention itself, and secondly, why that Convention was ever made at all. For the conduct of the Boers between 1881 and 1884 had been most unsatisfactory. The British Resident was ignored. The title of "South African Republic" was calmly resumed in all public documents. No attempt was made to bring to justice the criminals concerned in one or two outrages during the war (notably the murder of Captain Elliott, who was taken prisoner by the Boers, released on parole, and treacherously killed when crossing the Vaal River). The native relations of the new State were unsatisfactory.

On the 13th of April, 1883, Mr. Chamberlain (then a member of Mr. Gladstone's Government) said in the House of Commons: "He admitted, as a matter of opinion, though it could not be demonstrated, that the Transvaal Government had broken the spirit, and even the letter, of the Convention." In the following June Lord Derby, in the House of Lords, admitted the unsatisfactory conduct of the Transvaal, and said: "It would be an easy thing to find a *casus belli* in what had taken place."

And in the very next year Mr. Gladstone's Govern-

ment resigned most of the rights reserved to the Crown, and gave the Transvaal envoys almost everything that they asked. And so carelessly was the Convention drafted, that it is now necessary, for the solution of disputes as to the intentions of its framers, to invite the reminiscences of persons present at the meetings. Naturally enough, at this distance of time, those persons (the Rev. D. P. Faure and Sir Robert Herbert), each of them a man of unimpeachable good faith, are not agreed.

The difficult "Coolie Question" owes its origin to a want of precision in the Convention. That document contemplated the existence of only two classes, Europeans and Natives (Inboorlingen)—that is, members of native African races. But since the discovery of gold many natives of India have taken up their habitation in the Transvaal. It would take too much space to go into the "Coolie Question" (which has been complicated by the anti-Asiatic legislation passed in Natal). But the initial difficulty turned on the problem whether these Indians were or were not to be considered "Natives."

The discovery of the Witwatersrand goldfields has, as everyone knows, entirely revolutionized the Transvaal by introducing a multitude of cosmopolitan (but mainly British) immigrants. At the same time, it has changed the Transvaal from a poor pastoral into an enormously rich mining country. The State revenue in 1883 amounted to £227,000. By 1887 it had reached £722,000. In 1893 it amounted to £1,702,685; in 1897 to £4,480,218. It is estimated that seven-ninths of the revenue are contributed by Uitlanders. The expenditure is enormous (in 1897, £4,394,066). It is devoted largely to the maintenance of an army of officials, to an excessive armament, and to a Secret Service fund. Public works are neglected. Sanitation is mismanaged. Large sums are believed to be misappropriated by officials. For instance, it is absolutely known that a great part of the sums voted for the relief of a terrible native famine recently, never reached the starving natives. Many Boers have become enriched by the discovery of gold on their

farms. Others have obtained lucrative appointments. Many of the poorer burghers are practically subsidized by the State, under the guise of "relief-works."

It is now necessary to give a brief summary of events in the Transvaal since 1881.

In 1883 a campaign was conducted against a native chief called Mapoch, in the north, who was subdued after some trouble. A Bapedi chief, Mampoer, who had taken refuge with him after (as it is alleged) murdering Sekukuni, was hanged. In 1894 a similar campaign against Malaboch was undertaken. The unhappy chief was imprisoned for life. From the descriptions given by some of the "Reform prisoners" in 1896, who saw Malaboch in the Pretoria gaol, he has cause to envy Mampoer. In 1898 Mpefu, in the Zoutpansberg, was reduced. The cause of quarrel has generally been the refusal of the chiefs to pay taxes. They have never recognised the authority of the Boers. They submitted to the British authorities during the occupation, and after the retrocession they were deserted by the British Government. At the same time, the Transvaal Government can hardly be blamed for reducing them. No Government in South Africa can tolerate the existence of independent armed native tribes within its boundaries. And outcries against the brutality of Boer methods must be deprecated. Native warfare is never very merciful, but there is no evidence to show that the Transvaal burghers were more severe than the British forces in Matabeleland, although it must not be forgotten that there were not the same excuses for severity.

As regards external native affairs, the Boers soon showed that they had not the least intention of keeping their engagements not to encroach beyond their limits. Bechuanaland on the west, and Zululand on the east, afforded an easy prey. The Pretoria Government was unable or unwilling to coerce its burghers. In Bechuanaland\* Manko-ro-ane

\* The Bechuana Question is very complicated, and readers interested in it must be referred to the Rev. John Mackenzie's "Austral Africa," a book which, though loosely constructed, contains very much that is of vital importance to a true understanding of African questions.

and Montsioa, who had been in alliance with Britain, became involved in a quarrel with Massow and Moshette, who were the protégés of the Transvaal. Boer volunteers joined the latter chiefs in large numbers, acquired farms in Bechuanaland, and established the two Republics of Stellaland and Goshen. These "Republics" were mere nests of freebooters, and at last the British Government, goaded to action by the remonstrances of members of the public interested in missionary work in Bechuanaland, declared a Protectorate in 1884 over the Batlapins (Manko-ro-ane's people) and the Ba-ro-longs (Montsioa's). In 1885 Sir Charles Warren was despatched with an expedition to restore order, and annexed the two Republics without firing a shot. A Protectorate was proclaimed as far north as the 22nd parallel of latitude, and the disturbed country south of the Moloppo River was constituted a Crown Colony, and now forms part of Cape Colony. The "Bechuanaland Protectorate," which is still under the direct control of the High Commissioner, includes the territories of Khama, Sebele, and Bathoen.

Thus the western border of the Transvaal was defined once for all, and "the road to the north" kept open. The conduct of the Boers to Dr. Livingstone had showed, long before, their anxiety to bar this road. It must be remembered to the credit of Mr. Gladstone's 1880 administration that they preserved to the Empire the road to the north.

The establishment of a German colony in Damaraland and Namaqualand in 1884 had most important results. It was very possible that German "South-West Africa" might be extended eastwards (across Bechuanaland) up to the Transvaal border, in which case British expansion would have been finally barred.

On the eastern side of the Transvaal affairs turned out better for the Boers. After the reduction of Zululand in 1879, Sir Garnet Wolseley divided the country into thirteen small chieftainships, thus delivering it over to incessant intertribal war. Cetywayo was deported, but afterwards

restored as a petty chief to a country where he had once been supreme. He at once attacked another chief, Usibepu, and on his death the cause of his son Dinizulu was espoused by many Boers, who thus obtained a footing in Zululand. In 1884 the greater part of Zululand was proclaimed a Boer State under the title of the "New Republic." This step aroused the Home Government, who promptly took possession of St. Lucia Bay (ceded by Panda in 1843) and the seaboard. In 1886 the New Republic, with reduced territories, was recognised by Her Majesty's Government, who in 1887 annexed Eastern Zululand. In 1888 the New Republic (of which General Joubert had been President) was incorporated with the South African Republic. In 1897 the Crown Colony of Zululand was annexed to Natal, and, to crown their record of inconsistency, the Government at the same time allowed the return of Dinizulu, who had been interned at St. Helena, and who may yet give more trouble.

The South African Republic had never relinquished its hope of reaching the sea. In 1887 feelers were thrown out in the direction of Kosi Bay in Amatongaland. The arbitration of Marshal Macmahon between England and Portugal had in 1875 disallowed the British claims to the south side of Delagoa Bay. Between the Portuguese frontier and Zululand was the independent country of Amatongaland. Inland of this territory was Swaziland, whose independence was guaranteed by the Conventions of 1881 and 1884. But Europeans trooped into Swaziland, and the country was reduced to great disorder. The Swazis had fought for the Boers, and subsequently for the British, against Sekukuni. In 1890 a Convention between Her Majesty's Government and the South African Republic regarding Swazi affairs was negotiated, but never ratified. At that time Mr. Rhodes entertained hopes that the South African Republic would enter into a Customs Union with the Cape, and the influence of Cape Colony was undoubtedly exerted to effect an arrangement by which the Republic, on



entering such a Union, might be allowed to extend to the sea. But President Kruger was unwilling to bind his State to the Cape commercial policy. He preferred to be in a position in which he could bargain on equal terms with the Cape, Natal, and Portugal. Undoubtedly jealousy as to securing the carrying trade to the Transvaal for a long time estranged Natal from the Cape. Recent events have brought the two British colonies together, but it is a curious result of the past that, though their territories are now continuous, the traveller who wishes to travel by rail from Cape Town to Pietermaritzburg must go round through the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. After the refusal of President Kruger to come to terms over Customs, Mr. Rhodes broke off his attempts to conciliate the South African Republic. The abortive Convention of 1890 would have given the Boers leave to make a railway to Kosi Bay, but in 1894 a new Convention was signed, handing over the administration of Swaziland to the South African Republic, with certain reservations, and the railway clauses were dropped. Accordingly, in 1895 Amatongaland was annexed by Her Majesty's Government, and the Boers finally shut out from the sea. As the position of the South African Republic towards Swaziland is very generally misunderstood, it may be pointed out that that country is not an integral part of the Transvaal, although in the hands of Boer officials. Thus the Dynamite monopoly does not, or should not legally, extend to Swaziland. The Boers are in that territory on somewhat the same footing as the Austrians in Bosnia.

The expansion of the Transvaal northwards was formally checked in 1890, when the Limpopo (Crocodile) River was fixed as the northern boundary of the Republic. In 1888 Lobengula, King of the Matabele, engaged to make no treaties without the assent of the High Commissioner. In 1889 the British South Africa Company received its charter, Messrs. Rhodes and Rudd having previously obtained concessions from Lobengula. Next year Mashonaland was

occupied by Dr. Jameson's force. An attempt on the part of Boers to occupy part of Mashonaland was checked by Dr. Jameson in 1891, and President Kruger exerted his authority to hold in his aggressive burghers. The Matabele War in 1893 confirmed the British possession of what is now termed Rhodesia.

The internal history of the Transvaal must now be briefly sketched. Paul Kruger was elected President after the retrocession, and has occupied the position ever since. In the election of 1888 Piet Joubert ran him very close, and since Mr. Kruger was declared President, in suspicious circumstances, many people in South Africa think that it is a great advantage in the Transvaal, as in Spain, to have possession of the polling-booths. This, however, is little better than gossip, and there is no doubt of the spontaneity with which Mr. Kruger was re-elected last year.

It has been seen that the external policy of the South African Republic has not been of a character to justify Mr. Gladstone's hopes that the new State would live in peace with its neighbours. Its internal policy has been even less satisfactory.

It was understood in 1881 that there would be no difficulty about the admission of newcomers to full citizen rights. Mr. Kruger gave this impression at the Conference, and the British representatives were so trustful, or so much hampered by Downing Street instructions to get the business finished at all costs, that they did not insist on any written pledge. But ever since the retrocession the franchise has been gradually restricted. "As late as 1881 an immigrant could acquire the electoral franchise after a residence of two years. In 1882, however, this period was raised to five years, and in 1887 to fifteen. In 1890, by which time the unenfranchised strangers had begun to agitate for the right to be represented, a nominal concession was made by the creation of a new chamber, called the Second Volksraad, for membership in which a newcomer might be eligible after taking an oath of allegiance followed by four years' residence,

the right to vote at elections to this chamber being attainable after the oath and two years' residence. This Second Raad, however, is limited to the consideration of certain specified subjects, not including taxation, and its acts can be overruled by the First Volksraad, while its assent is not required to the acts of that body. It has, therefore, turned out little better than a sham, having, in fact, been created only as a tub to throw to the Uitlander whale. The effect of the legislation of 1890 and subsequent years down to 1894 (legislation too intricate and confused to be set forth in detail here) has been to debar any immigrant from acquiring the right to vote for the First Volksraad until he has passed the age of forty, and resided for at least twelve years in the country after taking the oath and being placed on the local government lists—lists on which the local authorities are said to be nowise careful to place him. Nor does birth in the Republic confer citizenship, unless the father has taken the oath of allegiance.”\*

A peculiarly irritating provision exists by which, if an Uitlander has conformed to all the tests, he may be blackballed for the franchise at the last moment by the votes of the existing burghers in his constituency. It is evident that, so far as the Uitlander is concerned, the First Raad is like a British House of Lords with all the powers and privileges of a British House of Commons.

On the other hand, the Boers did not want an incursion of foreigners, they have no sympathy with those foreigners' ways, and they entertain a very justifiable fear lest the State for whose existence they have gallantly fought should be submerged by an influx of alien voters. But since they are content to be enriched by the material prosperity which the advent of the aliens has brought, they are hardly to-day in a position to assume the attitude of a quiet and simple people who merely want to be let alone. The fact is that the Boer has been corrupted by the new conditions. Money is easily made and lost in South Africa, and commercial

\* Bryce, "Impressions of South Africa," 1897, p. 515.

morality is not high. Boer officials, and even members of the Raad, are notoriously corrupt. The men of Majuba are losing their moral fibre.

The Uitlanders of the Transvaal have suffered greatly from misrepresentations of various kinds. The town of Johannesburg is a wonderful monument of the energy of its founders. Practically all the materials for its construction were conveyed for hundreds of miles on ox-waggons. The railway has followed business, not created it. For some years after the discovery of gold the Rand was a rough mining camp, but its record was in many ways much better than that of the Australian or Californian diggings. But Johannesburg is now in possession of most of the amenities of civilized life. Its inhabitants include, of course, a very motley collection of riff-raff, but the average Uitlander of whom we hear is an ordinary middle-class professional Englishman or colonial, neither worse nor better than his compeers. There is a large respectable European working-class population—miners, carpenters, masons, and the like. The position and influence of the “millionaires” is rather misunderstood. Most of the capitalists have consistently discouraged political agitation. Several of them are Jews of an inferior type, and few of them have political ambitions. They have generally been able to get what they wanted from the Transvaal authorities, and they are not, as a class, popular enough among their fellow-countrymen to wish for an extension of the suffrage. Some of the capitalists, however, have “come into line” with the other Uitlanders, and this fact is due to the scandalous mismanagement of the Rand by the Republican authorities. A Commission\* was recently held to examine the condition of the mining industry, and its report—a striking report framed by Government nominees—was practically disregarded by the Raad. Monopolies, of which that on Dynamite is the most oppressive, weigh hard upon the mining industry. The supply of native

\* See Parliamentary Paper C. 9345.

labour is ill-regulated, and the laws as to the purveying of liquor, though well intentioned, are absolutely a dead letter. The Kafir labourers on the mines are given facilities for constant drunkenness by villainous liquor-sellers, who are known to have an understanding with minor officials. A regular system of illicit gold-buying has been carried on with the connivance of the Government Secret Service employés.

It is facts like these that turn capitalists, whose first thought is for their business, into politicians.

But the less wealthy Uitlanders have greater grievances. They are unable, even if they were willing, to expend money on conciliating Government officials. They see the affairs of their town hopelessly mismanaged, and the police, composed of rough farm-boys who cannot understand English, unable to keep order in the streets at night. They suffer in health from the authorities' want of knowledge on sanitary matters. They are hampered in business by the exclusive use of the Dutch language for all public purposes—a system which stands in striking contrast with the bilingual Government of Cape Colony. They are unable to procure proper education for their children. They are heavily taxed to maintain a Government which glories in its want of sympathy with their needs. Finally, they are made to feel that they belong to a subject race. I cannot understand why Sir Alfred Milner should have been attacked for using the expression "Helots." It really illustrates the position of the Uitlanders in the eyes of the Boers. Presumably the average Englishman is so inflated with his national sense of importance that he cannot believe that foreigners can not only feel, but show, contempt for other Englishmen. It is only fair to remember that much of the wild talk about "avenging Majuba" is due to the fact that Majuba is, and has been for eighteen years, "rubbed into" the Uitlander (to use an expressive vulgarism) by the Boer.

A crisis arose in the Transvaal in 1894, when the

Government, while steadily refusing to give citizen rights to British subjects, attempted to "commandeer" them for service in the Malaboch war. A revolution was only averted by the prompt visit to Pretoria of Sir Henry (now Lord) Loch, who obtained a pledge from President Kruger that British subjects should be exempted from such service. In spite of that pledge, attempts have recently been made to commandeer coloured British subjects, and the Raad has just passed a resolution empowering the Government to press all inhabitants for military service in case of war. In 1896, just after the raid, the leading people of Johannesburg found it advisable to send valuable horses into Cape Colony for safety. They had discovered that the Government meant to seize studs of race-horses under the pretence of requiring them for active service!

The reception by the Raad of petitions for the franchise is well known. The Uitlanders were told that if they wanted rights they must fight for them. They took the hint, and in 1895 organized the most futile conspiracy ever conceived by intelligent men. Clearly industrialism has some things to learn from the "militarism" which Mr. Herbert Spencer despises. The Johannesburgers failed to secure an adequate supply of arms. They failed to conceal their intentions. They failed to settle what was to be done if their revolution succeeded, some of them wishing to hoist the Union Jack, others to organize an independent democratic republic. This point—the most vital of all—was by common consent shelved. Suddenly Dr. Jameson, Administrator of Matabeleland, who had been in communication with the "Reform" leaders, dashed across the border with a force of police. His military tactics were as contemptible as his friends' political experiments. He rode into the only cul-de-sac which existed for miles round, and, after a gallant fight, was forced to surrender to a hastily-raised Boer levy. Commandant Cronje guaranteed his men's lives, but the guarantee was repudiated by the Pretoria Government, and it was very largely the idea

that Jameson's fate depended on their action that induced the Uitlanders to lay down their arms. They were taken by surprise; they endeavoured to stop the raid, but were too late. Their counsels were divided, and before they could settle anything, Jameson was a prisoner, and Sir Hercules Robinson, who had at once denounced the raid, ordered Johannesburg in the Queen's name to remain quiet. The critics who talk so glibly of the Uitlanders' "cowardice" should try to imagine what they themselves would have done if they had found themselves practically unarmed in the face of a Boer army, solemnly forbidden to stir by their Queen's representative, and informed that the first shot they fired would entail the death of Jameson and his men.

But though the Uitlanders have been unjustly blamed, it is impossible to speak of the raid in sufficiently severe terms. Before 1896 the public opinion of Dutch South Africa had sympathized with the Uitlanders. The Dutch of the colony and the Free State, themselves living under a system of equal rights, disapproved of the exclusive system north of the Vaal. There was a growing "progressive" Dutch party in the Transvaal itself. But the wretched skirmish at Doornkop united all the Dutch in condemnation of English treachery. The raid was carried out by a British official, with whom rode British officers. The Premier of the Cape, practical head of the Chartered Company, and member of the Queen's Privy Council—Mr. Rhodes, who had always appeared as the friend of the Dutch, whose conduct in the Stellaland business in 1884 had given rise to suspicions as to his loyalty among Englishmen, who had publicly declared for the doctrine of "Africa for the Afrikanders" and resented Imperial interference, the trusted political ally of Mr. Hofmeyer, and accepted of the Afrikander Bond—this Englishman, one of the few Englishmen whom the Dutch really liked, had been the moving spirit in the conception of this outrage, though he was not responsible for the absurd way in which it was executed. Meanwhile people in England

seemed to lose their heads. The nation that had deserted Frere went mad over Jameson. The Colonial Office was universally believed by the Dutch to have been "in" the raid. The conduct of the English Parliamentary South Africa Committee confirmed this idea. We at home know the baselessness of such a notion, but the Dutch farmers still believe it.

President Kruger became the national Afrikaner hero. The Orange Free State was thrown into a panic fear for its own independence. The loyal Cape Dutch were sorely tried, and I am sure of my ground when I say that it is their respect and affection for the Queen which alone has retained their loyalty. For the Boers, despite their faults (which are fully recognised by the Dutch of Cape Town), were, after all, their kinsmen, and were treacherously attacked by representatives of the paramount power.

Further, the raid confirmed the Boers' notion of their own military superiority. It lowered British prestige among the natives, who had regarded Dr. Jameson, ever since his brilliant Matabele campaign, as irresistible. It made the Matabele rebellion possible, and it turned the opinion of the civilized world against Great Britain.

Rarely has a statesman lost such a chance as President Kruger. In his first alarm he was willing to promise concessions. But finding that Lord Rosmead was too dismayed at Dr. Jameson's blunder to take a firm tone--and how could a self-respecting statesman have hectored at such a moment?—he let his vengeance fall on the Uitlanders, and then made a parade of clemency; for everyone in Africa knew that he would not dare to hang the Reform leaders. Repressive legislation followed—an Aliens Expulsion Bill, a Press Bill, an attempt to make Englishmen carry badges like Kafirs.

Meanwhile England had been put so hopelessly in the wrong by the raid that Mr. Chamberlain had to let pass much that would in ordinary times have called for active interference. Mr. Chamberlain, if he did not present a



very successful figure in 1896, has maintained since then an attitude of patience and dignity, except for occasional unnecessary acerbities of speech (unnecessary, because it is no use at all to scold at foreign nations). He deserves full credit alike for his selection of Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner and for his consistent endorsement of his representative's policy.

And President Kruger continued to throw away his chances. In 1897 he came into conflict with his Chief Justice, Mr. Koetze, over the claim of the Bench to "test" resolutions of the Volksraad in the light of the Grondwet. A very difficult constitutional question is involved, into which I cannot enter here. But the practical aspect of the question is that Mr. Justice Koetze had enjoyed the confidence of all classes in the Transvaal, and the Bench was known to be a safeguard of individual liberty. But when Mr. Koetze was deposed, and replaced by Mr. Gregorowski, a creature of the President, all South Africa knew that the Transvaal Judicial Bench had become the tool of the Executive.

I have purposely refrained from placing the "drifts" incident of 1895 in its chronological sequence, because I wish to consider briefly the relations of the South African Republic with Cape Colony, in which it forms an episode.

The Cape Dutch disapproved of the Annexation of the Transvaal. In 1880 the Transvaal Boers (in revenge for that measure) were largely instrumental in causing the defeat of Lord Carnarvon's confederation scheme at Cape Town. During the insurrection the Boers met with much sympathy in Cape Colony, and recruited a good many volunteers in the Orange Free State, though President Brand preserved strict neutrality. The retrocession was generally approved by the Cape Dutch, while it drove the English to frenzy. The growth of the Afrikaner Bond undoubtedly did something to foster Republican ideas at the Cape. In 1887 the Bond Congress was actually held in Potchefstroom. Comparatively recently a hint from

Pretoria caused the Cape Legislative Council—then a Dutch stronghold—to pass a resolution of sympathy with the Irish “political prisoners.”

But President Kruger alienated, instead of conciliating, the Cape Dutch. Inspired by Dr. Leyds, he filled the Transvaal with Hollander officials, and refused posts in some cases to Cape Afrikanders. He would give no burgher rights to British subjects, Dutch or English. He opposed a hostile tariff to Cape products. Meanwhile Mr. Rhodes had been doing a very extraordinary work, of which the merit is not sufficiently understood. He had converted the Cape Dutch to a hearty co-operation in the northward expansion, and to assent in his views about South African confederation. Rhodesia was thrown open to Dutch, quite as much as to English, immigration. The Orange Free State was persuaded to come into a Customs and a Railway Convention with the Cape. It has withdrawn from the latter, but maintains the Customs Union, a fact which accounts for Mr. Schreiner's inability to stop the transit of ammunition. But President Kruger resented the settlement of Rhodesia, and refused to make any tariff concessions. He patronized the Netherlands Railway Company at the expense of the Cape and Orange Free State lines. Finally, in order to bolster up the excessive charges of that company, he closed the fords, or “drifts,” over the Vaal, hoping thus to compel goods for Johannesburg to be sent by rail. But the Imperial Government, in full concert with the Cape Government (of which Mr. Schreiner was then a member), declared this step a violation of the Convention, and sent a practical ultimatum, which opened the drifts at once.

The raid caused a reaction in favour of the Transvaal, but the patent misgovernment of Pretoria has again alienated the Cape Dutch. If war were declared, a few hot-headed young Cape farmers might join the Boers. But the mass of the Cape Dutch would sorrowfully acquiesce in the Imperial policy.

It is necessary to speak of the supposed German intrigues with the Transvaal. Undoubtedly the Boers were not sorry to see the establishment of Germany in Africa. They believed that at last there was a counterpoise to British power ; but there has never been the least desire in the Transvaal for a German Protectorate, and the Cape Dutch have viewed German expansion with alarm. The experience of German official methods gathered by the few Dutch farmers in Damaraland has convinced the Afrikaners that German rule is far more galling than British. A great deal too much was made of the German Emperor's telegram in 1896 by the hysterical English press.

Recent events are too well known to need repetition.

The disgraceful murder of Mrs. Appelbe by people whose misdeeds her husband had exposed, but whom the police have been careful not to arrest ; the cruelties committed on coloured British subjects ; the outrageous proceedings of the Johannesburg official, Mr. Lombard ; the riot directed against a peaceful Uitlander meeting with the connivance of the authorities, and the double-dealing of Mr. Smuts, the State Attorney, with regard to the arrest of prominent Uitlanders, are incidents fresh in the memory. The earlier incidents led to the Uitlander petition to the Queen. They explain why it is necessary that the Uitlanders should obtain the franchise. They claim it not from the desire to domineer, but because experience has shown them that the existing burghers cannot establish even the rudiments of decent government.

I have attempted to sketch the story of the Transvaal fairly, and if I censure the Boers to-day, I have not been blind to the injustices, vacillations, and occasional cowardice of British policy in the past. Our errors have given the Boers their strength. But the continued existence of the South African Republic in its present form means the continuance of monopolies, corruption, and cruelty. The Liberals of England used to be concerned for freedom of

trade, honesty, and clemency. Will they find them at Pretoria?

Finally I must say a word on the Native Question. It is sometimes forgotten that the Boers are not an isolated community, but the overlords of a teeming black population. Now, I am not what is called a "negrophilist," in so far as, after some practical experience of life in Africa, I, rightly or wrongly, do not believe in the possible equality of black and white (at least, for some centuries to come), and I have doubts about the advisability of the Kafir franchise in the Cape, and do not wish to see it extended to Natal and the Transvaal. But it is just because the black races of Africa are a subject people that a very heavy responsibility rests with their white rulers. And the spirit in which the Boer Government exercises that responsibility may be seen from two facts—first, that its members allow the absolute demoralization of the Johannesburg Kafirs by drunkenness; secondly, that permission for black men and women to acquire the right to legal marriage was for the first time with immense difficulty passed by a bare majority of the Volksraad about two years ago.

It is probable that before these words are published there will be war in South Africa. For this reason I have desired rather to sketch the history of the South African Republic than to discuss the present crisis.

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NOTE.—The Parliamentary Papers are, of course, indispensable to the study of Transvaal history. The period of the Great Trek, and the story of the Transvaal up to 1872, are covered by two volumes of Dr. Theal's admirable history. Dr. Voigt's "Fifty Years of the History of the Republic in South Africa" treats of events before 1845 from a pro-Boer standpoint. Cloete's "Lectures on the Emigrant Farmers" is an "original authority" on the Trek. Mr. Nixon's "Complete Story of the Transvaal," which stops at the year 1884, should be consulted as an eloquent expression of the views of Transvaal Loyalists. Mr. Wilmot's "History of Our Own Times in South Africa" (1872-1898) continues Dr. Theal's work, but stands on a very different footing as an authority. Mr. Statham has written a "Life of Paul Kruger" and other works, in which he appears as a strong champion of the South African Republic. Aylward's "Transvaal of To-Day," published in 1877, takes much the same line. Mr. Martineau's "Life

of Sir Bartle Frere," and Sir William Butler's "Life of Sir George Pomeroy-Colley" are authorities on the Annexation and war. The Rev. John Mackenzie's "Austral Africa" deals with Bechuanaland, and Mr. Rider Haggard's "Cetywayo and his White Neighbours" with Zulu questions. The best book on the Jameson Raid is Mr. Garrett's "Story of an African Crisis," while Dr. Hillier's "Raid and Reform" gives an interesting résumé of Transvaal history. Mr. Lucas', Mr. Worsfold's, and Dr. Theal's short histories of South Africa deserve mention. As regards books of personal impressions, Mr. Bryce's work stands supreme; but Captain Younghusband's "South Africa of To-Day," Sir Richard Tangye's "New South Africa," and Mr. Thomson's "Rhodesia," all contain valuable information on the Uitlander Question.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

WE have to note an important work recently published in England, the two first volumes of which we have before us. It is the "Dictionary of the Bible," edited by J. Hastings, with the assistance of Messrs. J. Selbie, A. B. Davidson, S. R. Driver, and H. B. Swete, and on which a great number of English and foreign theologians and scholars have been labouring together.\* As stated in the preface, the Church needs more and more information and instruction, and it was to supply this want that this Biblical encyclopædia has been published. It treats of all questions regarding the Old and New Testaments and of their apocryphas (languages, literature, theology, etc.). One may say that generally the work is arranged from a scientific point of view, although we shall have several exceptions to make in this respect. Some maps and a few, unfortunately very ordinary, engravings accompany the text.

Among the best papers therein contained are those on "Alphabet," "Amulets," "Angels," "Apocalyptic Literature," "Apocrypha," "Arabia," "Arabic Versions," "Armenian Version," "Ashtaroath," "Ashtoreth," "Azazel," "Apocalypse of Baruch," "Chronicles," "Chronology of the Old Testament," "Cosmogony," "Daniel," "Deuteronomy," "Ecclesiastes," "Book of Enoch," "Eschatology," "Flood," "Food," "Genesis," "Hexateuch," "Isaiah," "Job," "Joel." The articles dealing with the Old Testament are superior to those which treat of the New Testament, and, above all, they are written almost free of *dogmatic* bias.

Some subjects seem to us to be incompletely or inadequately dealt with, of which the following are examples. The author of the article "Acts of the Apostles" does not pay sufficient regard to the works published by the German critics, and which have shown that this book was a work of conciliation amongst the then existing Judeo-Christian tendencies. We were surprised on reading the article "Ark of the Covenant" to find nothing about the Egyptian origins of the Ark; the "Dictionnaire de la Bible," published by the Abbé Vigouroux under the patronage of the Church of Rome, is on this question much more exact and up-to-date. The article "Bishop" and "Elder" are altogether inadequate; it is impossible to discuss this question without consulting the standard work of J. Réville on "The Origin of the Episcopacy."† The article "Essenes" admits without discussion that the treatises "Quod omnis probus liber" and "De

\* Vols. I. and II. (A—Kinsman). T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1898-99 (in 8vo.).

† Paris, E. Leroux, 1894. See the report of this work and the summary of this difficult question which we inserted in *Le Protestant*, Paris, 1895, pp. 237, 245, and 262.

vita contemplativa" belong to Philon; the authenticity of these writings has been and still is too much disputed to admit their existence without explanation. The article on "Jesus Christ," notwithstanding the very great interest which it presents, is written from a purely orthodox point of view, which is disparaging to a work that appears under the guise of science, etc. Whatever be the criticisms we may offer, we have to acknowledge that the "Dictionary of the Bible" is a valuable work, and we are impatiently awaiting the subsequent volumes.

The sixth volume of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (third edition), published under the direction of A. Hauck,\* has recently appeared. It extends from the word *Feldgeister* to the word *Gott*. We specially wish to draw attention to the articles by Benzinger on archæological questions of the Old Testament ("money," "justice," "law," "strangers," etc.).

Clermont-Ganneau has commenced to publish Vol. III. of his "Recueil d'Archéologie orientale";† Parts 1 to 13 have just appeared. Amongst the articles on Semitic epigraphy contained in these volumes, we wish to draw attention to an interesting dissertation on the Arabian dialects of Northern Africa.

The second volume of "Actes du onzième Congrès international des Orientalistes" (Paris, 1897) has been published.‡ It is devoted to the Semitic section—Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramæan, Ethiopian, Assyrian. The Syriac and Ethiopian papers are principally by Messrs. Lamy, Conti Rossini, Guidi, and others. M. Schwab gives also a long and interesting account of *Meghillath Taanith*.

To the general works which we have enumerated must be added a new one by R. de la Grasserie on "La Psychologie des Religions."§

#### OLD TESTAMENT.—HISTORY OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

In the outset, we point out the thirteenth edition of the Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary of the Old Testament of Gesenius, reviewed by Messrs. Socin, Zimmern, and Buhl.|| This excellent publication is a corrected and enlarged reprint of the twelfth edition by the same authors, which appeared in 1895, and became exhausted.

We notice next the second edition of a very practical manual of the Hebrew language by Ludwig.¶

Among the commentaries which have appeared lately, we quote that of Benziger on the Book of Kings,\*\* which is specially interesting; the author has taken up the archæological part, in which he is so competent, with particular care.

The translation of the apocryphas and pseudepigraphs of the Old Testa-

\* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899.

† Paris, E. Leroux, 1899.

‡ Paris, E. Leroux, 1899.

§ Paris, Alcan, 1899.

|| "Gesenius' hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch," etc. Leipzig, Vogel, 1899.

¶ "Kurzer Lehrgang der hebräischen Sprache." Giessen, Ricker, 1899.

\*\* "Die Bücher der Könige (Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. A. T. von Marti.)" Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

ment, published under the direction of Kautzsch, is progressing; Parts 11 to 18 have just appeared.\* They include Ecclesiasticus, the letter of Aristeus, the book of the Jubilees, and the martyrdom of Esay.

A new number of the Talmud of Babylon (text and translation) by L. Goldschmidt has been published; it contains the tracts Chagîgâh and Schekâlîm,† and completes the third volume. The preceding numbers were noticed by us in our last report.

Death and what is beyond, among the Israelites, has been the cause of some interesting works. The first, a mere pamphlet by Bertholet,‡ is an excellent account of the question. The author clearly points out that the absence of the hope of a future life in the doctrine of Scheôl is in express opposition to Messianism, so firmly rooted in Jewish minds. The solution of this difficulty lies in the fact that the individual is nothing, or next to nothing, in Israel, whereas the people, whose continuance is everlasting, is everything. The author does not think that it is necessary to search in Parseism or elsewhere, the explanation of the origin in Israel of the belief in a future life; he thinks that this new belief is the simple result of the development of Messianic creeds. This subject has been treated by the reporter from a different point of view in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1890, "On the Conception of a Future Life among the Semitic Races."

The second work is by J. Frey, and treats of death, of belief in the soul, and of the worship of spirits in ancient Israel.§ We only give the conclusions of this work, of which we publish elsewhere a long criticism. These are the conclusions: 1. Death, according to the Old Testament, is the arrest of human life produced by a superior power, God—an arrest that deprives the soul of the body and of vital force, and plunges it into a wretched existence, that of Scheôl. 2. The belief in Scheôl has not given rise in Israel to the worship of spirits, which is found excluded by belief in Jahvism. 3. The Jahvism of Moses has its origin in the ancient belief of the Patriarchal age, in "God of fathers."

We finally mention the German translation of Cheyne's lectures, delivered from November, 1897, to January, 1898, in the United States, upon the religious life of the Jews after the exile.|| This is a subject which we often have had occasion to discuss, more particularly in our "Essai sur les Origines des Partis Saducéen et Pharisien."¶ Cheyne's work is excellent in every way, and we cannot but congratulate the German translator for having rendered it into that language. The last chapter on the influence of Israel upon other countries, and the influence which Judaism has received from Babylonia, Persia, and Greece is particularly interesting.

\* Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

† Berlin, Calvary, 1899.

‡ "Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode." Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

§ "Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel." Leipzig, Deichert, 1898.

|| "Das religiöse Leben der Juden nach dem Exil." Deutsche Uebers von Stocks, Geissen, 1899.

¶ Paris, Fischbacher, 1883.



# MR. LE PASTEUR FESQUET'S NEW THEORY ON THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGES.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

THE new theory respecting the unique origin of different languages of the world to which I desire to invite the attention of our readers, is due to an extremely modest scholar, Mr. le Pasteur Fesquet, who for many years has devoted himself to the study of linguistic questions and comparative philology. We have had already the opportunity of drawing the attention of the learned public to this system at the International Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1891.\*

Mr. Fesquet, who has by degrees perfected his method, takes for the basis of his investigations the Hebrew, and substantially establishes his comparisons between Semitic and Indo-European languages. The following is briefly his theory, which consists chiefly in reducing trilateral Semitic roots into biliteral radicals, assimilated to the biliteral roots of Indo-European languages.

*Thesis 1.*—The Hebrew trilaterals are, in a rudimentary form, the reproduction of the agglutination of two biliteral monosyllables having the same meaning.

**נִצַּר**,† *nituit*, the amputated form of **נִצַּר**, an agglutination of the two biliteral monosyllables **נִן** and **צַר**, which at first were separate; **נִן**, from **נִצִּין**, *nituit* (Lat. *nit-ere*; Celt. *neiz*, day), and **צַר**, from **צָהָר**, *nituit* (Sansk. *han-ana*, *hir-ana*; *seip*, sun, etc.).

*Thesis 2.*—As the preceding example demonstrates, the second letter of the first of these monosyllables is always identical with the first letter of the second.

*Thesis 3.*—To find the two elements of the composition of Semitic trilaterals, its middle letter must be doubled, and the trilateral becomes thus decomposed into two monosyllabical biliterals, of which each, taken separately, has the same meaning as the trilateral itself.

**שֵׁבֶט**, *baculus* (for **שֵׁבֶט**), from **שֵׁב** (Sansk. *skamb-as*, prop, stick; *σκήπτων*, stick; Lat. *scip-io*, stick; Germ. *stab*, etc.), and from **ט** (Sansk. *pad-ma*, stick; Eng. *bat*, etc.).

*Thesis 4.*—These biliteral monosyllables of Semitic origin, brought face to face with their Indo-European congeners, constitute, if not entirely, at least in a great part, the unique primitive language.

**נָחִישׁ**, snake (Sansk. *nag-as*, snake); **רָע**, bad, wicked (Sansk. *rah-u*, bad, demon); **לֵב**, from **חֵלֶב**, milk (Ar. *leb-en*, sour milk; Germ. *lab*, rennet, etc.).

*Thesis 5.*—The third radical of the double (mute) verbs, and the middle

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1891, p. 40.

† For the sake of abbreviation, I have given only one or two examples in each thesis, all of which have been taken from the manuscript notes of Mr. Fesquet.

letter of the concave verbs, sometimes dropped when these verbs supply one of the creative elements of a trilateral agglutination.

לקק, *linxit, lambit* (Sansc. *lih*; λείχω; Lat. *ling-ere, ling-ua*); קוין, קוט, *fastidire* (Germ. *hasz*; Eng. hate).

*Thesis 6.*—The letters א, ה, ו, ח, י, ע, correspond sometimes with the vowels and sometimes with the consonants of the Indo-European, whatever may be their place in a trilateral.

ע = α—ἄξων, *axle-tree*; Sansc. *aks-as*, Lat. *ax-is*, etc. = עג, from עגל, *volvit, rotundus*; ע = θ—θύρα, door = ער, from שער, *fidit, porta*, etc.\*

*Thesis 7.*—The Indo European corresponds with some Hebrew words in which figure, one after the other, two of the letters א, ה, ו, ח, י, ע, inserting a consonant between these two letters in order to prevent a hiatus discordant to it, or taking these two letters as forming a diphthong, it vocalizes them.

Pamphyl, αἰβeros, eagle (αἰετός, αετός) = איה (for אויה), *avis clamosa*; א = i; Lat. *il-ex* = איל, oak, etc.

*Thesis 8.*—The biliterals, the trilaterals (with their derivations), and the quadrilaterals of the Hebrew have numerous analogies in the Indo-European. The author gives many and varied examples of them.

To these theses, in order to give a full account of the system, there must be added those which the author details on the analogies of sounds and meaning between Semitic and Indo-European words; on the redoubled forms which are met with in the two series of languages; and on the replacing of certain Semitic letters by the aspirates of the Greeks, etc. But this account would go much too far, and the little that I have said of the theory, will enable the reader to understand its genius and originality.

But with respect to my review of the work, I desire, in the first place, fully to do homage to the great knowledge and learning of Mr. Fesquet. I only regret that the limited space of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* does not allow me to quote *in extenso* the very numerous examples that the author puts forward in support of his theory. My object, moreover, in this mere critical account of his system is not so much to express my opinion, as to make it known to the learned public and to specialists.

As regards myself, I feel little disposed, both owing to my work and inclinations, to study the problem of the origin of languages. I think that the questions of the origin are closed to human understanding, and besides, in order to study the question of the reduction of Semitic trilaterals to Aryan biliterals, one must, in my opinion, thoroughly know the Aryan and Semitic languages. I, for my part, am only competent to deal with the Semitic.

Having made these preliminary observations, I will give my opinion as to the theory of Mr. Fesquet. Doubtless, in many cases, the author has shown some very striking comparisons between the Semitic and the Indo-

\* Mr. Fesquet gives some examples of the relationship of ע to all the letters of the alphabet.

European roots. But the system, on the whole, can hardly escape the following criticisms :

1. The author tries to prove that the languages of the world have only one origin, but his researches merely concern the Semitic and Aryan branches of these languages.

2. The process of dividing into two the Semitic triliteral roots has something artificial about it, as is evident from the examples given by the author. This is shown also in all the possible combinations of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet in biliteral radicals. The number of these combinations amount, according to the author, to 968, or, eliminating useless repetitions, and dealing with all the authorized suppressions, to 365 (a number equal to the days of the year) biliteral monosyllables, sufficient to serve as a basis for all the spoken languages.

3. One might well call thesis 6 arbitrary, in virtue of which the *weak letters* of the Hebrew and the gutturals א and ע are considered as assimilable to all the vowels and to all the consonants of the Indo-European language.

4. The linguistic basis upon which the theory is built is insufficient. The Hebrew, in fact, is a comparatively poor language ; it does not appear to be the oldest of the Semitic languages. It is far from having preserved, like the Arabic, traces of its ancient origin, and the grammatical process which appears to have characterized the primitive Semitic language.

# THE XXXI. VOLUME OF THE "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST."

BY PROFESSOR MILLS, D.D.

REMARKS BY THE AUTHOR MADE BY ESPECIAL REQUEST.

THE late distinguished editor of this *Review* requested me, some little time before his death, to write an article explaining the general bearing of my contribution to the series of the "Sacred Books of the East." He did so, doubtless, owing to the exceptional severity of the subject, and to the unusual circumstances under which I undertook the work. What I shall say will be short. The book was the literary presentation of the work of many years. I had got my "Study of the Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas" printed to the extent of the texts (Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian, some 400 pages), with translations of the first three (Latin verbatim and free metrical of the first). The Pahlavi was edited for the first time with the collation of MSS., and so was the Sanskrit; the Persian, an exceedingly precious, tentative, interlinear translation of the Pahlavi, was edited as collated, corrected, and deciphered. This was in 1881. (In the fully-published edition of 1892-94, all the MSS. of the Pahlavi had been collated, and so practically of the Sanskrit.) Professor R. von Roth, of Tuebingen, the first authority on Vedic Sanskrit, asked me for the book, and thanked me for it before his class. I was studying with him at the time, exchanging assistance. Having given it to him (the severest critic of the century), I sent it to all the Zendists whom I knew—among others, to Darmesteter.

Darmesteter was just then about to decide as regards the third volume of his translation of the "Zend Avesta" for the "Sacred Books of the East." That third volume was to comprise the Yasna, which contains as its chief part the Gâthas, a subject fiercely debated and viciously watched by a small group of men in control of the newspapers.\*

In the Preface to his late French Yasna, Darmesteter says he shrank (in 1883) from the enigma of the Gâthas, and he wrote to me a letter, from which I cite the following extract, and I do so for an especial reason.

In the *Revue Bleue* of Paris, February, 1895,† occurred a notice of Darmesteter's works, with the remark on the "Sacred Books of the East" that "avec cet oubli de soi qui caractérise le vrai mérite . . . il céda à M. Mills l'honneur d'achever la traduction," otherwise also curiously leaving the impression that I suggested the arrangement. His letter, which is in no sense private, runs as follows:

"5 Nov., 1883.

"CHER MONSIEUR MILLS,

" . . . Je lui ai donc répondu que je ne pouvais et je lui ai dit que vous étiez la personne la plus compétente pour me remplacer.

~~Who~~ Who had studied the subject without a knowledge of the Pahlavi alphabet (some of them).

† And this article was actually reproduced in the *Annuaire* of the University of Paris of the same year.

" . . . Je crois que la chose serait bonne et pour la collection elle-même et pour vous ; pour la collection parcequ'elle aurait la version des Gâthas la plus au courant possible ; pour vous parce que . . . Vous n'avez qu'à détacher de votre travail la traduction rythmique avec quelques notes explicatives et le mot à mot quand vous en écarterez trop. Cela vous prendrait infiniment peu de temps puisque le travail est déjà fait. . . . Je le désire du fond du cœur ; car à défaut de vous, je ne vois pas qui pourrait faire la chose et la faire bien. . . . Dans l'espoir d'une réponse favorable,

" Je suis,

" Votre bien dévoué,

" JAMES DARMESTETER."

I undertook the work as he requested me, and it was ready in May, 1887. Anticipating a combination of hostile criticism, I refrained from noticing the reviews of it, but was pleased when Darmesteter wrote me (March, 1888) that it was "déjà cité et apprécié par tous les spécialistes." It was one of the most "prepared" of books, the expression of the results of very many years of study. Its style, unfortunately, errs in both extremes. The Gâthas are too literal, and the rest is too free (but I grew ashamed of writing matter so literal that one of my pupils said he could use it without a dictionary), while I interspersed it with my own extensions to fill out the sense, but these were enclosed within awkward parenthetical curves. I would now apologize for the somewhat unsightly result, pleading as extenuation the satisfaction to the reader of possessing a rendering severely literal. But perhaps the last 200 pages are too flowing. Darmesteter was so free as to establish a record in that particular ; I followed. Darmesteter was free with succinctness ; I was free with redundancies. I should say that he had the best of it. I wished to add literal explanations, but my colleagues did not like to allow more space ; the subjects should have been allowed two volumes. However, it was an honest piece of work, after more exhaustive preparation than is usual, and I am by no means ashamed of it.

As it was based upon the first printing of the "Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas,"\* so it is dependent upon the full edition of that so greatly extended treatise, which contains all the texts of all the Commentaries, with a very full and entirely original treatment of the Pahlavi, absolutely essential to all serious investigation of the subject. The Sanskrit texts were handled in the same manner, save that five MSS. only could be made use of. The result was the unearthing of the very essential needs of the specialty.†

Any man who uttered ultimate opinions upon the Gâthas without an exhaustive treatment of the Asiatic Commentaries would be a shameless impostor, liable even to legal prosecution in countries where a Ministry of Public Instruction exists. The Pahlavi made use of is, of course, twisted out of all natural form, a fact not before even noticed. It is interspersed

\* See the London *Athenæum* of April 12, 1884.

† See the *Revue Critique* of September, 1892 : "Tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'interprétation rendront hommage à l'immense labeur scientifique de M. Mills . . . indispensable pour l'étude Darmesteter."

See the London *Daily Telegraph* of August 10, 1894 : ". . . establishes the author as standing at the head of Zoroastrian expositors" (Sir Edwin Arnold).

with cases of doubled translation, the best that the old expositors knew of in the way of alternatives. And so of the Sanskrit, there could be hardly a more important document in that language than the first translation of the Yasna ; but this is wholly illegible to a Sanskritist who does not study the Pahlavi. It is, however, not a jargon as it was prematurely thought to be, but other Sanskrit has been found which closely resembles it. The entire subject has been so superficially treated that some have the face even to repeat the old tale that the translations and Commentaries are all etymology. People are even given certificates as Doctors of Philosophy on Zend which they actually declare in print at the time of receiving that degree that they have studied only for six months, and no notice is taken of the scandalous circumstance. I need hardly say that the translations glow with brilliant points entirely aside from "etymology," and often seemingly in face of it. There is nothing that could possibly have been done in the way of investigation that had not been done with redoubled energy before this book (vol. xxxi. of the "Sacred Books of the East") was undertaken. And this course of research was entered from the side of philosophy.

I was writing a history of the Gnosis, and I happened upon Matter (Strasburg), who was copious in his allusion to the "Avesta" as a source of Gnostic opinion. After three years (about) of hard but delightful labour on the history of the philosophies, I turned to the "Avesta" actually in 1876. I am, of course, pursuing my exposition with all possible speed, as fast as I can publish my voluminous MSS. I have printed, say, some 50 to 60 pages in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1899, on Asha alone, and will follow with the rest of a laborious work on the Ameshaspendas. In the *Critical Review* I am endeavouring to get more of the MSS. published, so in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, etc. While I have one-eighth of my "Dictionary of the Gâthic Language of the Zend Avesta" in type (vol. iii. of the "Five Gâthas"), I am also entrusted by the trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay with the composition of an exhaustive work on the "Antiquity of the Avesta," which I have practically all (or more than all) in MSS. (for I must reduce it), and I am getting out a second edition of the metrical version from the "Five Gâthas," and also an English version of its Latin word-for-word (the "Study of the Five Gâthas" is practically all sold). I solicit the sympathy of the literary public in view of the long years of harrassing toil on (by far) the most difficult problem in Aryan philology. The mass of co-related investigation needed to sound principles is very great indeed, though it leads one through fields of supreme enjoyment. Thorns lurk, as may be supposed, amidst its flowers, and there have been times when heavy publication expenses came upon me alone. In the case of my foreign friends, necessities have been at times truly pitiful. "Art is very long indeed, and learning is a shoreless ocean, and the days of man are few."

Oxford, August, 1899.

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## THE EMANCIPATION OF EGYPTIAN WOMEN.

BY KASSEM AMIN BEY, COUNCILLOR OF THE  
COURT OF APPEAL, CAIRO.

UNDER this title\* I have recently published at Cairo a work in Arabic, urging on my fellow-countrymen the necessity of modifying our laws and customs where they concern women.

In the present article I have tried to set forth in outline the ideas which are developed in the book, because I am of the opinion that an evolution so important in the ideas of our country would interest some of the many readers of this Review.

Observation and history unite to indicate a correlation in every society between the position of woman within it, and the degree of civilization to which that society has attained. When organized States first came into existence the condition of women resembled that of slaves. To refer only to the condition of the Arabs before the appearance of the Prophet, a father could with impunity kill his daughters, and a man could possess an unlimited number of wives without his relations being regulated by any law. Islam brought with it a considerable amelioration in the condition of women by proclaiming from the first their liberty and independence, and by conferring on them the same legal capacity as man in all acts of civil life. Neither by its disposition nor its spirit has the Koran been the cause of the actual inferiority of the Mussulman woman.

It will suffice to convince the reader if I quote the three following verses taken at random among a multitude of others :

1. "Women have as many rights as duties."
2. "One of the benefits God has conferred on man is having created from him wives, and having united them together to the end that they should love and help each other mutually."
3. "Remember the solemn promises which you have given to your wives."

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\* تحرير المرأة تأليف قاسم امين با لقاہرہ



Unfortunately, all the good effects which might be expected from the Mussulman law have been destroyed through the influence of savage customs, which existed amongst the people who have accepted Islam, and which were introduced into it along with many other customs and prejudices.

These customs were made worse by the almost uninterrupted succession of despotic forms of government which ruled the Mussulman peoples. Wherever despotism reigns it extends like a spot of oil from the Sovereign to those who surround him, and from those to others. Everywhere it encourages the oppression of the weak by the strong. Woman being the weakest creature, man has treated her with contempt, has deprived her of her rights, and trampled underfoot her personality. She has therefore lived in a state bordering on animality: mother, daughter, wife, what does it matter? she has been brought under subjection to man because he is man, and she is woman. Man has absorbed her individuality, and has left her nothing in the whole range of the universe but the corners of his house to live in. An impenetrable veil of ignorance and obscurity separates her from the world. She has been but a plaything for man, which amuses him, and which he breaks and throws away into the street when he has had enough of it. Hence have come in our Moslem world, Polygamy; the right of repudiation accorded to the husband and never to the wife; the custom of having eunuchs to look after the women; the veil, separation and seclusion, etc.

For the last twenty years, however, the domination of man over woman among us has, as a matter of fact, been ameliorated, the result of a better sense on the part of the men and of reforms introduced by the Government. At the present day a certain number of women go for walks, frequent the market-places, and accompany their husbands on a journey. Men—at least, educated men—do not consider their wives unworthy of their confidence and friendship.

But this is an illusory state, and will be always limited to the surface if we do not frankly attack the antiquated customs, which stand like barriers to the development of woman's individuality—that is to say, her ignorance, and the separation between her and man.

It is the absence of all education which debars the Egyptian woman from cultivating, like her European sister, the study of science and art, and from engaging in commerce and industry. This represents an enormous intellectual capital socially immobilized. But for her own sake, too, woman needs instruction, one of the first requisites for the attainment of a little happiness on this earth. All human beings have a natural right to develop their talents to the extreme limit Nature allows them. Religion, morals, laws, sciences and arts, apply to women as well as to men. There is a vast domain common to all, where everyone should search as he or she likes. To live with closed eyes ; to live like a bird in a cage ; to live with head bowed down to the ground with all the immensity of space above and around ; to turn away one's eyes from the stirring sight of the stars which shine by night, nor to hear the millions of voices of visible and invisible things which convey to the ear the mysteries of the infinite, nor to commune with the soul of the universe—why should this be the fate of women ?

It is because woman has ignored the requirements of life that she has lost her rights. Man, seeing himself wholly responsible, has claimed all rights. Deprived of all education, her intelligence has remained in a rudimentary condition, and her conscience has withered. But we should be unjust in upbraiding her for these defects ; it is the men, our fathers and forefathers, who are responsible.

A sad uniformity in ignorance exists among all Egyptian women. They differ from one another only in the mode of their dress and the value of their jewels. One might also affirm that the higher the rank to which an Egyptian woman belongs, the more profound is her ignor-

ance. Thus, the women of the lower classes, those that work in the fields, are comparatively speaking less ignorant. The country woman, the toiler in our fields in reality, knows as much as her husband ; their intelligence is about equal. An enormous distance, on the contrary, separates woman from man in the upper and middle classes.

This difference in education is, and must be, an unfortunate thing for both. All common life is impossible between two different dispositions. The woman may be good, the man of a noble character, but notwithstanding this, they live out of touch and sympathy with each other.

We continue bringing up our daughters as we did a thousand years ago, and do not perceive that everything around us is changed. In our time, when the exigencies of life are so numerous and so harsh, when interests are complicated, domestic life often attains to the proportion of a large administration. The management of a household has become an art, which it is impossible to acquire, except by a person of numerous and various attainments. The education of children alone demands attainments, and an experience which cannot be found in a woman without intellectual culture. I call the attention of my fellow-countrymen to this educational problem. If we wish to regenerate our race from the low state into which it has fallen, if we wish to bring up men with initiative, able to depend upon themselves in the battle of life, it is with the woman, the mother, that we must begin our regeneration. Woman's part not only consists in reproducing her species ; the infant being born, the mother ought to be able to make a man of him. This noble mission is exercised by woman in European society. With us she can rarely dream of fulfilling it.

The principal obstacle to the education of woman is, without doubt, the state of seclusion in which she is condemned to-day to live. While this custom prevails nothing will be accomplished. A few of our young daughters have received a sufficiently liberal education in our schools, but having

been shut up at the age of thirteen or fourteen, they have gradually forgotten all that they have learnt, and are not able to learn anything else. This confinement of the woman in a narrow circle shuts her out from all communication with the outside world which thinks and acts. She can no longer indulge her curiosity, her thirst for knowledge, acquire experience, or develop her faculties. She passes her life extended on a sofa, in smoking and in sleeping.

This confinement, the consequences of which are evidently so fatal to the health of women, to their spirit and morality, we will now examine from the religious point of view :

Islam has never enjoined the veil. The Koran says :

“Tell the believers to cast down their eyes, and to live honestly ; that is better for them, as God knows what they do. Tell also the female believers to cast down their eyes, to live honestly, and not to show to strangers beyond what is apparent of their bodies.”

The text, it will be observed, has not determined *what is apparent*. Our Ulemas are agreed in supposing that *the face and the hands* are included in those parts permitted to be uncovered. As regards other parts of the body, such as the arms and the feet, there is a divergence of opinion.

Neither does Islam exact the separation of men and women. The only provisions enacted by the Koran in reference to this subject refer to the wives of the Prophet ; they are as follows :

“O believer, enter not the house of the Prophet without permission if you have anything to ask of his wives. Do not address them, unless you are separated by an object which prevents you seeing them.

“O wives of the Prophet, you are *not as other women*. If you seek to be pure, do not allow yourselves to be beguiled by speech. Do not encourage malevolence. Speak plainly and with courtesy. *Remain in your houses*. It is not becoming to you to cultivate flirtation, like women did before Islam.”

These provisions all our jurisconsults admit as applying *exclusively* to the wives of the Prophet. Neither confinement nor separation, as it is actually practised in Mussulman countries, constitutes a religious rule. The custom, besides,

during the first centuries of Islam confirms this view. In those times women of all classes mixed in the society of men, and shared their lives. It is possible to mention a considerable number of them, who were conspicuous either by their acts, their learning, or their intelligence.

Another thing which is not prohibited, but which is blamable, according to some of our jurisconsults, is the *tête-à-tête* of a man and woman. This opinion originates from a *Hadith* of the Prophet—viz, a man should not hold a private conversation with a woman.

As is apparent, we are very far from the veil and confinement as practised nowadays. Nevertheless, this does not prevent these customs from being firmly established, and adhered to more than all the commandments of God. That is because they are thought to have an extraordinary influence on their morality.

In reality, it is nothing. On the contrary, this separation develops to an extreme degree the sexual passions in women as well as men. It wakens the moment they do meet, and continually maintains in their minds the thought of the difference of sex. Here, too, as elsewhere, the charm of prohibition produces a result contrary to its object.

Nevertheless, I do not see what merit a woman can claim, deprived of her free-will and liberty, in pretending to be virtuous. Is a malefactor, whom society has sent to prison, allowed to allege that he has become an honest man during the time he was incarcerated ?

Humiliating to the woman, detrimental to her health and morals, wounding the dignity of man himself in the sense of the reciprocal distrust which attaches to them, our customs are primitive precautions, which are repulsive to every cultivated mind. When man reaches a certain state of intellectuality and sentimentality, he feels a repugnance at playing the part of a despotic ruler at home. His nature revolts at the idea of slavery under any form. He cannot, under the fallacious pretext of safeguarding the virtue of his wife, approve of being allowed to do away with her

individuality. Europe is before us. Let us profit by her experience, instead of being employed in a sanctimonious admiration of ourselves.

If we raise woman by giving her education and liberty, we may be able to change the whole history of Egypt, and possibly of all the East. This is a question of life and death for us, and for all Mussulmans, because the misfortune of the East is not, in my opinion, a religious problem, as generally understood. That does not mean to say that our religion has not undergone a deformation which requires some reforms. But if our religion has been degraded, it is because our character has been lowered. The great subject—the subject of subjects—is in connection solely or principally with the education of woman.

We cannot seriously change our social state before changing that of our family. Religious and moral instruction, which are so generally extolled and praised by us as a remedy for our misfortune, would not produce the desired effect. It is not sufficient alone that grain should be good in order to germinate ; it requires also to light upon favourable soil. But this favourable soil will be always lacking as long as woman is unable to prepare the future welfare of her children.

The changes which I myself would urge upon my countrymen are :

1. Let the women be educated.
2. Accord to them the liberty of their acts, their thoughts, and their sentiments.
3. Give to marriage its dignity by adopting as its base the reciprocal inclination of both parties, which is impossible if they do not see each other before marriage.
4. Make regulations in regard to the husband's right of repudiation ; give the same right to the wife. Make it in all cases a solemn act which cannot validly take place, except before a tribunal, and after having been preceded by an attempt at conciliation.
5. Prohibit polygamy by law.

Not only do these reforms contain nothing contrary to our religion, but I affirm that they emanate from it. I have pointed out the way, which should be followed in order to preserve the essential stamp of Islam. Properly understood, our religion would become a marvellous factor of progress, and suit itself to all changes, instead of being sunk, as it is now, in immovability and routine.

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

## VI. THE USE OF THE MIRROR.

IT is somewhat remarkable that the use of metals and the art of metallurgy should have been recognised during the earliest prehistoric times of Eastern nations. In the legends that constitute the primary religious and historic annals of Japan, the sword, the mirror, and other objects, which could only have been worked out of metals, are mentioned in a most decisive manner, and their continued use and importance is sustained throughout the records of the people. The Japanese, as we know, are masters in the art of turning to good account the precious hidden products of the earth. As the sword was considered the soul of the soldier, so the mirror symbolized the soul of woman.

To possess a flawless mirror was the ambition of each good and virtuous daughter of Japan, for the proverb runs thus :

"Kagami ga kumoru to, tamashii ga kumoru."

- When the mirror is dim, the soul is not pure.

To produce a beautiful specimen was often the highest object of the metal-worker's ambition, for it was readily purchased by the high-born ladies of the Court, who sought to excel each other in acquiring a few dainty attributes of daily use, which they valued as personal requisites.

So firm was the belief in the proverb that when many women belonging to one lord could not agree in his household, for jealous feelings that might rise and mar the peace the hatred and bitterness that existed between them would make even the mirrors dash themselves together while their owners slept. At least, this was the prevailing superstition.

But the earliest honour with which this insignia was vested was of a religious nature. During the time Shintoism



flourished, or rather when it was steadily advancing towards maturity, a specimen of this ancient object invariably occupied a conspicuous place in the temple. The following extract will serve to substantiate this remark. Describing a Shinto temple, Mr. George Cobbold in his "Religion of Japan" writes :

"Within the sanctuary an altar is erected, on which, however, no images or adornments are seen, simply offerings of rice, fruit, wine, etc. Above the altar, in a conspicuous position, a large mirror is generally placed, and in a box beneath are usually kept a sword and a stone (or crystal). These three—the mirror, the sword, and the stone—constitute the Japanese regalia, and they are all connected with the early legends. One of the traditions respecting the sacred mirror deserves quotation ; it is to be found in Eden's 'Japan, Historical and Descriptive' :

" 'When the time was come that Izanagi and his consort should return to the celestial regions, he called his children together, bidding them dry their tears and listen attentively to his last wishes. He then committed to them a disc of polished silver, bidding them each morning place themselves on their knees before it, and there see reflected on their countenances the impress of any evil passions deliberately indulged ; and again each night carefully to examine themselves, that their last thoughts might be after the happiness of that higher world whither their parents had preceded them.' "

The dutiful children of Japan's first Adam and Eve faithfully discharged these directions, which were studiously carried on by their descendants, erecting an altar of wood to receive the sacred mirror, and keeping fresh flowers in special vases renewed continually upon it. "As a reward for their obedience and devotion they became the spirits of good, the undying Kami."

With such precedents its importance has not died out. As late as 1868 A.D. a native related to me how before setting forth on his first great continental journey, after visits to relatives had been accomplished, and dutiful rites had been performed at shrines of ancestors, he had entered the temple and prostrated himself before the mirror in strict obedience to the formula and custom of his ancient cult. This religious observance, simple as it may appear to us, affects those who carry it out in no light degree. There is doubtless something mystical, strange, fascinating—we may almost say spiritual—in being thus brought face to face with

one's own countenance, if the deed is undertaken with a view of searching out all the deepest hidden secrets of the heart and conscience. To believe, as we penetrate beyond the mere outward representation of the countenance, that those whom we have been tutored to venerate are beholding us, and exercising their spiritual power over us, are judging us by their standard of right or wrong, and in some mysterious manner grieving or exulting in our daily actions—this impressive and soul-searching ordeal has affected men and women for many ages. It is one of the characteristics of a primitive race whose religious tendencies we have not yet wholly elucidated. Spiritual inclinations so divergent to our own have a reward and value which we may yet find explainable.

Mirrors were held before defaulters and criminals, in courts of justice, in order to force confession from the guilty by stress of facial conviction. Again, in the legendary records, we are told how Uzume, the young and sprightly maiden of mirth, allured the Sun-goddess from the cavern into which she had retired in a freak of ill-humour, leaving Japan in darkness.

Uzume danced and sang before the cave, and while she did so held up a metal disc. The goddess, hearing noise and commotion around, peeped out to satisfy her curiosity, and beheld in the silver mirror the replica of her own shining countenance. Charmed with the reflection of her personal attractions, her sullen mood passed away; she stepped nearer to the strange object, and lingered before it. Thus drawn from the hiding-place—which she was baffled from re-entering by a twisted rope thrown quickly across it—the celestial light again illuminated the world (or Empire of Japan), to the comfort and happiness of mankind.

In order to perpetuate this remarkable event throughout all time, on the festival of every new year Kagami mochi, or Mochisuki, mirror-cakes are always made and offered up on the household shrines of Shinto deities. They are

formed of carefully boiled and beaten rice of a good quality. Country people are most particular to perpetuate this grand old custom. The poorest peasant procures the best quality of the grain that he can afford, but the higher classes utilize the finest rice. The ingredient is placed in a large wooden tub, and beaten up into a paste with a kind of wooden adze or mallet with a long handle. All members of the family assist in the important ceremony, or parties are organized for the purpose, which turn the custom into a merry-making affair.

These mirror-cakes are round and shallow, and are arranged two together, one over the other, as food-offerings to the spirits. They are also of symbolic importance, distributed annually as New Year's gifts to the living as well as offerings to the departed. They remind the people of the origin of the unbroken dynasty of rulers, of which the Japanese proudly boast, Ama-terasu, the Sun-goddess, being the first traditional regnant power of the Island Empire.

Ancient mirrors possessed by Orientals were not in shape or substance like those in vogue among us at the present day. Glass was not made in any form sufficient to justify it being applied to large surfaces. In Exodus it is written, that the Jewish women offered their brass or brazen mirrors as willing offerings for the purpose of converting them into a laver or basin for the purification of the priests, and in another part of Scripture a looking-glass or mirror is again mentioned. The women of India even to the present day attach very small circlets of steel about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter to a ring which passes over the thumb, as a consulting reflector. A plain zone of metal, usually mounted on a straight staff-like handle and fixed securely in a stand, constitutes this toilet object for the ladies of Japan. Specimens found in Shinto temples portrayed signs of Buddhistic influence, traced by the ornamentation on the reverse side. There is little cause to disbelieve they were, like many other antiquities, introduced into Japan from China, their origin having been followed up through those

regions whence Buddhist missionaries travelled, disseminating as they progressed the various arts of China, together with her civilization and religious propagandism.

When a new bell was required for a temple (many being destroyed or injured by fire), the priest solicited alms and gifts for the special purpose from the surrounding villages and towns; and the women, faithful to their ancient cult, gave up, like true devotees, their most precious belongings as votive offerings. Thousands of exquisite mirrors have been melted down for religious purposes, and you may often see at the gates of Shinto places of worship, piles of these precious symbols laid there by loving hands.

Japan is supposed to have commenced manufacturing mirrors about 70 to 130 A.D., during the reign of the Emperor Keiko; but those discovered in the dolmens, or hillside mounds for the reception of the dead, proved to be of a greater age. It has long been the custom in the East to bury ornaments, implements of toil, and household objects in tombs and resting-places; but what is somewhat surprising in this discovery made by Mr. Gowland is that these mirrors were placed among weapons of warfare and other appurtenances requisite for battle.\* Flat iron fans were carried by soldiers in order to parry the attacks made by means of deadly little knives, selected for close hand-to-hand fighting; but to what use a mirror could have been applied is somewhat perplexing, unless to flash sudden light into the eyes of the enemy and confound pursuit.

In the Transactions of the First Oriental Congress held in Paris, 1873, Mons. Fr. Sarazin has described and figured three very interesting specimens. They exemplify the three different forms: the one carried by means of a cord which was run through a boss at the back; another a small disc framed in an ornamental holder; the third like those previously described—a circle supported on a staff-shaped handle. Mr. Phené Spiers exhibited at the Burlington

\* Transactions of the Japan Society, vol. iv., part iii.

Fine Art Club in 1894 one of the first description. It was made of the usual alloy of copper and tin known as sentoku, silvered on the face, and ornamented on the back with peonies.

Mirrors were cast with a smooth surface for reflecting purposes. They were often richly embellished with various devices on the reverse side—with flowers, birds, beasts, objects of nature, or else with mythological and Buddhistic symbols. Those mentioned above, as figured in the Transactions, are richly furnished with designs of this character.

The castings were usually fined down or carved, the reflecting side carefully polished, and then finally coated with an amalgam of two parts tin and one part quicksilver. There was a certain make which possessed the magical power of showing "in the sunlight reflected from their faces a luminous image of the design on their back." This phenomenon is somewhat accounted for in the way in which the extreme edge or rim of the mirror was manipulated and the method adopted for buckling the edges together. But there are many diversities of opinion respecting this peculiarity; some specialists consider it due to the manner in which the convex arching receives its moulding during the polishing process. It is not in any way due to chemical influence in the composition of the alloy selected.

Dr. Rein tells us that Muraoka, the great expert, proved that mirrors made of simple metals, as well as compounds could display this magical disposition, and from them beautiful and startling effects have been secured.

Silver mirrors were often selected by those who preferred the more costly makes, also for temple consecration.

English mirrors were originally of metal; the art of fixing beaten foil of tin and lead and quicksilver at the back of the looking-glass was introduced into this country from Venice, at the commencement of the 16th century. While at Rome the obsidian stone—a hard substance supposed by some authorities to have been the condensed flow of lava, but by others a substantial opaque mineral, which was capable

of receiving a high polish—was introduced into that capital by a traveller from Ethiopia.

All nations seem more or less to have found some reflecting substance to consult for personal and toilet use. But the Japanese put the same article to many purposes, religion, warfare, and daily requirements bringing the mirror into repute among all classes, and calling for the skill of the metallurgist, who delighted to exercise his grand art for uses so diverse and numerous.

One of the most touching stories that has reached us from the Land of the Gods is relative to this treasured object.\*

The husband of a great beauty of Japan was called away to a distant part of the islands on important business. He was absent some time, and on his return he brought for his young and faithful wife, as a token of remembrance during their separation, a mirror of priceless value.

These objects had not at that time reached their province. As the beautiful woman held up the metal zone to examine the present she had received, with much tenderness and curiosity, she was startled at seeing a living face moving in front of her upon its polished surface. On inquiring innocently of her husband whose beautiful face it was before her, he chided her ignorance, and remarked, "It is of course your own."

Upon hearing this, the reflection became still fairer, and impressed itself as a ghostly fascinating reality on the mind of the woman. But feeling how foolish had been her question, she hid this remarkable gift away in a secret drawer, and did not dare again consult it.

In after-years when sickness laid her low, firmly believing in the durability of the reflection that had been revealed in such a mysterious way in the bloom of her womanhood, and the joy of the first days of her lord's devoted love, she bade her daughter, who was kneeling beside her death-bed, not to weep over the coming separation, saying, "When I am

\* See Lafcardio Hearn's "Kokoro."

absent and laid to rest in the quiet hakaba, you will still be able to converse with me. In the godown concealed in the folds of my wedding kimono you will find a round metal disc. Take it up daily, and look into it, speaking out softly all your fears, your joys, your sorrows; tell me everything, for in it you will still behold me face to face."

So the daughter did as the mother bade her, and beheld daily a youthful living likeness that rejoiced when she rejoiced, and wept when she wept, reminding her constantly of her lost parent's features. Ignorantly and innocently she also believed, and was at peace in the presence of the lovely reflection.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## RACK-RENTING OF THE LAND IN INDIA.\*

SIR,

My friend Mr. Rogers is quite indefatigable, and Madras ought by this time to have gone bankrupt if his conclusions are correct. But it continues to flourish, in its quiet benighted way, in spite of his statistics, and he might surely begin to suspect some flaw in them, even if many had not been pointed out to him. It is something to find that even he is somewhat staggered at the wild exuberance of his ally the correspondent of "India," and prefers to say that the revenue in Madras is "*partially*," and not "*entirely*," collected by means of eviction, though really we should be compelled to admit that in one sense all the land revenue, both in Madras and even in immaculate Bombay, is collected under penalty of eviction, because it is of course a simple fact that the land is always liable to sale for arrears of revenue, and apparently under a far more drastic law in Bombay than in Madras.

Mr. Rogers asks if there can be any doubt that the state of affairs described by his highly imaginative friend is due to rack-renting, and I have no hesitation in replying that there is considerable doubt on the point, because it is quite certain that the great bulk of the ryotwari land in Madras is *not* rack-rented at all. It is assessed nominally, as Mr. Rogers knows, at 50 per cent. of the net produce, and I am prepared to admit that some of the inferior land is actually assessed at a far higher rate, and that there is land on which 4 annas an acre might fairly be described as a rack-rent; but, as a general rule, the assessment is not 25 per cent. of the net fairly calculated, and often far less—so many allowances are made in fixing it for vicissitudes of season, etc. Surely Mr. Rogers must know that vast tracts of land in Madras which seventy or eighty years ago had no saleable value at all cannot be got hold of now for love or money.

But I have more serious complaint to make of his next quotation as to the value of ryotwari holdings in Madras, because even if he did not know from experience in Bombay, I have myself explained to him more than once that these statistics in Madras are quite untrustworthy, and that the only assertion that can be made about them with absolute confidence is that they *must* be wrong, though it is impossible for anyone to say *how* wrong without some such special inquiry as I myself once made in a very limited area. Mr. Rogers knows all this, and has not, so far as I am aware, explained why he still puts forth such statistics as a foundation for his case; but as many of your readers may not be familiar with the subject, I will explain once more why the figures *must* be wrong—I can *not* explain why the Madras Government have never, to my knowledge, attempted to correct them. The fact is that all our statistics as to land and land revenue are

\* See Mr. Rogers' letter, to which the above is a reply, in our last issue, pp. 207-211.—Ed.



compiled for each village *separately*, so that although one big ryot may hold land in many villages, he will be separately registered as a comparatively small ryot in each, and it is quite on the cards that one big ryot with 1,000 acres of land in ten villages may be registered as ten ryots with 100 acres apiece. So much for the main fact of the correspondent's paragraph; his arithmetical deductions from his own figures are still more extraordinary, for he seems to think that the increase of  $63\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in the number of substantial ryots from 428 to 700 is *less* than the increase of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in the case of the poorer ones. As a matter of fact, the substantial ryots appear to have increased, even on these untrustworthy figures, *four times as fast* as the others. I may be wrong, but he also seems to imagine that  $428 + 272 = 690$ .

As a very considerable margin of profit is left in assessing the Madras ryot also, Mr. Rogers must be wrong in supposing that this is the only reason why there is no longer any arable land in Bombay which has not been cultivated. It *may* be also because much land in Bombay was so absurdly under-assessed, as I think I showed it was on p. 194 of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1897. I have since come across some corroboration of this view in a note of Mr. Pedder's (a distinguished Bombay Settlement officer), with which I will conclude. It is dated January 14, 1883, and is part of a very reasonable comparison of the Madras and Bombay systems. He says: "The poorest and worst lands (in Bombay) are assessed at an anna, or even half an anna (an acre), and *a holding often includes some land not assessed at all.*" The italics are mine, and it is easy to see how all the land may well be occupied on such terms.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

July 20, 1899.

#### NIGERIA.\*

##### DELIMITATION OF THE RESPECTIVE BRITISH AND FRENCH POSSESSIONS ON THE NIGER.†

The Convention between Great Britain and France for the delimitation of their respective possessions to the west of the Niger and their possessions and spheres of influence to the east of that river, was finally settled on 9th June last, and the Report has been presented to Parliament. The following are the delimitations:—(1) The frontier separating the Gold Coast Colony from the French Ivory Coast and the Sudan starts from the intersection of the thalweg of the Black Volta with the 9th degree of north latitude, following the thalweg of the river northward up to its intersection with the 11th degree of north latitude. From this point it follows this parallel of latitude eastward, as far as the river, passing immediately to the east of the villages of Soauga and Sebilla, then following the thalweg of the western branch of the river up stream to its intersection with the parallel of latitude passing through the village of Sapeliga. From this point the frontier

\* See article by Mr. Bindloss, "A Glance at Nigeria," p. 327.

† See Treaty Series No. 15, 1899.

follows the northern limits of the lands of Sapeliga to the river Nouhan, then following the thalweg of the river up or down stream, as the case may be, to a point situated 2 miles eastward of the road leading from Gambogo to Tingourkou *via* Bankou. Thence it joins by a straight line the 11th degree of north latitude, at the intersection of this parallel with the road leading from Sansanné-Mango to Pama *via* Djebiga. (2) The frontier between Lagos and Dahomey (French) is the same as that agreed upon in 1896 from the sea to the 9th degree of north latitude. From the point of intersection of the river Ocpara with the 9th degree of north latitude, the frontier proceeds in a northerly direction, following a line passing west of the lands of Tabira, Okouta, Boria, Tere, Gbani, Yassikéra and Dekala. From the most westerly point of the lands of Dekala, the frontier runs in a northerly direction, so as to coincide as far as possible with a line striking the right bank of the Niger at a point situated 10 miles up stream from the centre of the town Guiris, measured as the crow flies. (3) From this point the frontier follows a straight line drawn therefrom at right angles to the right bank as far as its intersection with the median line of the river. It then follows the median line of the river, up stream as far as its intersection with a line drawn perpendicular to the left bank from the median line of the mouth of the depression or dry water-course called Dallul Mauri, a distance of about 17 miles as the crow flies, from a point on the left bank opposite the foresaid village Guiris. From this point of intersection the frontier follows this perpendicular line, till it meets the left bank of the river. (4) To the east of the Niger, the frontier, starting from the point on the left bank above mentioned, the median line of the Dallul Mauri, the frontier following this median line until it meets the circumference of a circle drawn from the centre of the town of Sokoto with a radius of 100 miles. From this point it follows the northern arc of this circle, as far as its second intersection with the 14th parallel of north latitude. From this second point of intersection, it follows this parallel eastward for 70 miles, then proceeds due south, till it reaches the parallel of  $130^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, then eastward along this parallel for 250 miles, then due north, till it regains the 14th parallel of north latitude,—then eastward along this parallel as far as its intersection with the meridian passing  $35'$  east of the centre of the town of Kuka, and thence this meridian southward until its intersection with the southern shore of Lake Chad. France recognises as falling within the British sphere the territory to the east of the Niger, comprised within the above-mentioned line, the Anglo-German frontier and the sea. Britain, on the other hand, recognises as falling within the French sphere the northern, eastern and southern shores of Lake Chad, which are comprised between the point of intersection of the 14th degree of north latitude, with the western shore of the lake and the point of incidence on the shore of the lake of the frontier determined by the Franco-German Convention of 1894.

The British Government has agreed to grant on lease to the French two pieces of land, for merchandise, one on a suitable spot on the right bank of the Niger between Leaba and the junction of the river Moussa (Mochi), and the other on one of the mouths of the Niger,—the river

frontage of each not to exceed 400 metres in length, with an area not less than 10 and not more than 50 hectares.

In future, this vast region, upwards of half a million of square miles, will be under the Crown, controlled by three separate Governments, with a common fiscal policy,—(1) the southern Nigeria, including the lower portion of the Niger Company's territory and the whole of the coast Protectorate,—(2) Lagos,—and (3) northern Nigeria.

#### THE NATIONAL ANTHEM IN ALL LANGUAGES.

To translate the "National Anthem" into all languages spoken throughout the Empire is a pleasant and a practical notion. To carry it out will demand some money and a great deal of care; but it would be no small achievement if the numberless tribes under Her Majesty's rule could be brought to recognise a common war-song—for that is how they would look upon it in effect. In many schools at the present day dusky little savages sing "God save the Queen" already, but it is in English, and they can hardly be brought to understand that they have a personal interest in the matter under those circumstances. But surely the mere translations, or a great part of them, have been done before. Dimly we remember a movement for the purpose some ten or fifteen years ago—and a subscription, of course. And a lively critique of the results by the late Dr. Leitner in the *Asiatic Quarterly* dwells distinctly in our recollection. For that erudite personage testified, *pièces en main*, that in the Hindustani version the words "God save the Queen" were rendered by a phrase not exactly incorrect but highly injudicious; for, said he, a hasty or illiterate reader would understand it to mean, "God grant that the Queen may marry again." When such errors may occur in translating a tongue so familiar as Hindustani—for we take it for granted that Dr. Leitner was right—it is clear that those who know a language well by books may fall into grievous if amusing *équivoques* when addressing the vulgar. Those who make themselves responsible for the translation of the National Anthem into unknown tongues cannot be too cautious.—*Evening Standard*, July 26, 1899.

#### COLONIAL LOANS.

Parliament, in passing the Colonial Loans Bill, has asserted a new and an important principle, that the aid of the Imperial credit should be given in case of need to those parts of the Empire which are not self-governed. The total amount which the Treasury may advance, at 2½ per cent., on satisfactory security, is £3,351,820, distributed among the following colonies: Gold Coast, for railways, £578,000; and for Accra harbour works, £98,000. Niger Coast Protectorate, for harbour works, £43,500. Jamaica, for public works, £65,000; in aid of revenue, £150,000; completion and equipment of railway, £110,000; interest on railway debentures, £88,000; and for waterworks, £40,000. Lagos, for railways, £792,500. Sierra Leone, for railway, £310,000. Trinidad, for railways and public works, £110,000. Malay States, for railways, £500,000.

Barbados, for hurricane loan, £50,000. St. Vincent, for hurricane loan, £50,000. Seychelles, for roads and survey, £20,000. Cyprus, for harbour and railways and irrigation, £314,000. Mauritius, for public works, £32,820.

#### CHINESE BANKING.

Certain Shansi firms are rich, and do all Government banking. They convey money for the Government from one province to another for a banker's fee of about three per cent., or less. If it be asked how the Shansi capitalists came to have the pre-eminence in Chinese banking, the best answer is perhaps that they had dealings in iron, coal, and salt, which are all abundant in that province. The secret of banking success is in a large capital. Though iron is found all over China, it has always been worked chiefly in Shansi. Probably this was a main source of the capital of the Shansi bankers. There are about twenty Shansi banking firms in Shanghai at present. While they aid the Government by conveying money to a distance for three per cent., they lend money in each city to other bankers having very small capital. The high rate of interest in China allows the first class banker to secure very large profits in part by conveying and in part by lending money. The use of bills of exchange is as old as the art of printing, and the needs of a great empire led to the riches of the trading class. The Italian merchants learned in China the art of book-keeping as combined with banking and printing, and probably China had as much to do with the origin of European bills of exchange as of the printing of books in Europe. China was several centuries before Europe in printing books, and probably also in the art of banking. In China when silver had to be sent as revenue from one province to another it was an appreciable aid to the Government that traders would convey it by means of bills to be cashed at Peking or in any great city. Modern Chinese banking is coeval with the introduction of silver, but it existed along with paper currency from the tenth century onward. The paper-currency banking preceded the silver currency banking. The Board of Revenue and the provincial treasurers during both periods found it convenient to obtain the aid of private banking firms. In North China silver is sent under military escort to Peking from the provinces. The Government takes the risk of loss by the way through robbery. Banking has not yet secured the privilege in North China of undertaking the conveyance of all silver by bills. The reason of this is that the bankers in Peking have no large reserve of silver, and the silver in circulation is not enough for the wants of the people and the demands of trade. Court expenditure in Peking, official salaries and the maintenance of the bannermen require more silver than bankers can supply. Railways will render the conveyance of silver safe, and the conveyance of silver to Peking clamped in hollow branches of trees as now will become unnecessary. Bankers will be able in a short time to serve the Government by carrying for them all the silver they require from the provinces. The deficiency in silver will become more felt as the Government yields to persuasion so far as to give up the

expensive transport of grain to Peking as revenue. Then it will be felt necessary to buy from bankers either silver or gold to meet the increased demand for metallic currency. The banking firms at Peking will find their business extend rapidly when the Government gives up direct conveyance of grain to feed Peking; rice merchants will send grain by railway and bankers will send silver by railway also. It will be impossible to limit the currency to silver, and it will not be necessary for China to become gold monometallic. A bimetallic currency may be regarded as possible to be adopted because of the influence of Japan. But the cheapness of silver will be in favour of the prospect of a large import of silver to supply native bankers in return for exports.

J. E.

### CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

The twelfth International Congress of Orientalists will be held in Rome, from the 3rd to the 15th October. The King of Italy is patron. The ordinary meetings will be held in the Roman University, and the inaugural and closing meetings in the Capitol. Most of the Governments and learned institutions of Europe will be officially represented. From Great Britain delegates will be present from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, also from the Royal Asiatic Society, the Victoria Institute, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Egyptian Exploration and Biblical Archaeology Societies. India will be represented from the India Office, the Indian Government, the Government of each of the seven Provinces, the Nizam's Government, Lahore College, and Bombay University. All members of Asiatic or other learned bodies and Oriental travellers are invited. Applications should be sent to Count Angelo de Gubernatis, President of the Committee. Tickets of members may be obtained from the Treasurer of the Roman University at Rome, or from Messrs. Luzac and Co., Oriental Publishers, 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. Arrangements have been made for a reduction of 50 per cent. for members travelling to Rome on the French and Italian railways. Similar reductions by the Austrian railways, by the Navigazione Generale Italiana for those from the East or South America, by the Austrian Lloyd for those from the East, by the North German Lloyd for those from the United States. There will be twenty separate railway excursions in Italy at reduced fares. Wives and other female relatives of members may become members and receive all the advantages of membership.

The Congress will be divided into the following sections :

- I. General Indo-European linguistics.
- II. Geography and Ethnography of the East.
- III. Comparative history of the Religions of the East,—comparative Mythology and Folk-lore.
- IV. China and Japan (Literature, History, and Archaeology).
- V. Burma, Indo-China, Malay Peninsula, Madagascar (Literature, History, and Archaeology).
- VI. First branch : India (Literature, History, Archaeology). Second branch : Iran (Literature, History, Archaeology).

- VII. Central Asia (Ouralo-altaic languages and peoples).
- VIII. Semitic languages and literatures (Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopian, Assyriology).
- IX. Mussulman Literature, History, Civilization
- X. Egyptology and African languages.
- XI. Greece Orient.
- XII. Languages, peoples and civilization of America (in connection with the languages and civilization of Asia).

It is anticipated that there will be at least 500 members. A great number of papers have already been sent in. There is every prospect that the Congress will be highly successful. We shall give a full and special report of the proceedings in our next issue.

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#### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS.

This Congress will assemble in Paris from the 3rd to the 9th September in connection with the International Exhibition of 1900. It will be purely of a historical nature. The sections are as follows :

- I. Non-civilized religions ; religions of America before Columbus.
- II. History of the religions of the Far East (China, Japan, Indo-China, Mongols, etc.).
- III. History of the religions of Egypt.
- IV. History of Semitic religions (Assyro-Chaldean, Asia Minor, Judaism, Islamism).
- V. History of the religions of India and Iran.
- VI. History of the ancient religions of Greece and Rome.
- VII. Religions of the Germans, Celts, and Slavs ; prehistoric archaeology of Europe.
- VIII. History of Christianity in the first centuries, the Middle Ages, and modern times.

The secretaries are Messrs. Léon Marillier and Jean Réville, *à la* Sorbonne, Paris. Subscriptions not less than 10 francs.

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#### THEODORE BECK.

1859—1899.

The Mahomedans of Northern India have sustained an irreparable loss. In 1898 they lost their illustrious leader, Sir Syad Ahmad,\* and now they have lost the Principal of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh,† whose life-work was the complement of the Syad's. Theodore Beck is no more. He passed peacefully away at Simla on September 2, the victim of an Indian climate and overwork, at the early age of forty. His parents were Quakers. His father had taken a prominent part in various public affairs ; his uncle was Secretary of the Anti-Slavery League, and a devotion to great causes

\* See "Personal Reminiscences," July, 1898, pp. 45-51.

† See "A Mahomedan University for Northern India," October, 1898, pp. 273-282.

was traditional in the family. Having taken his degree at Cambridge, young Beck was appointed Principal of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, when only twenty-four, without previous training, and with few obvious qualifications, except the courage and enthusiasm of youth, the ardour of his sympathy, and a considerable power of lucid exposition. The condition of the Aligarh College at the time was chaotic. The finances were in disorder, discipline was in abeyance, the trustees were numerous and unmanageable, and although Sir Syad Ahmad, the founder of the college, imposed his own iron will in all matters of importance, individual trustees showed their zeal by intermeddling in the details of college life. Nor could the European staff look forward to any of the advantages which usually tempt men to India. Their position was insecure; their pay uncertain; there were no prospects of advancement, and little hopes of a pension. But young Beck united to an enthusiasm and sympathy almost feminine a large-hearted candour and openness of mind which always grew, and a perseverance and courage that never failed. His earliest care was the reorganization of the college. By degrees he reformed the discipline, brought the boarding-house under supervision, introduced sports and debating societies, and enforced the observance of religious duties. He dined at the common table, became the friend and adviser of his students, and in numberless ways assisted them after they had left. Moreover, he collected around him a small staff of Englishmen as sympathetic and zealous as himself. His chief difficulty lay with the trustees, and on some occasions he had to stake his whole position on the conflict; but courage and tact and the assistance of the Syad carried him through successfully. For the Syad he entertained a regard which speedily ripened on both sides into the warmest friendship. The large and generous conceptions of the Syad had filled him from the commencement with enthusiastic admiration. He adopted not only the educational but also the political programme (the two are inseparable) of the Syad, and became the chief exponent of the Syad's views to the English-speaking public. He was thus for many years the spokesman of the most intelligent and cultured portion of the Mahomedan community. He explained their attitude with regard to all the more important questions of the day, and obtained much sympathy for their aspirations from Englishmen of note. The professors of the Aligarh College have produced works of permanent value, like Mr. Arnold's scholarly and sympathetic "Preaching of Islam," and Mr. Morrison's treatise on the Principles of Government in India. Mr. Beck's essays and letters were no less able, but they mainly dealt with practical matters, and it will be difficult for his successors to exercise an influence on the course of affairs so considerable and direct.

For the first fifteen years Mr. Beck's work was necessarily subordinate to the Syad's; but on the death of Sir Syad Ahmad, in 1898, the existence of the college depended chiefly on the Principal. The position happened at the time to be unusually difficult. There had been serious defalcations, the accounts were in utter disorder, the staff was for months without pay. The trustees (many of them) were a prey to jealousy and intrigue; the local leaders bitterly opposed each other, and were rival candidates for the

inheritance of the Syad's authority. General anarchy threatened to overtake the college. It was Mr. Beck's greatest triumph to bring order out of this fermenting chaos. The finances have been put on a sound footing, and placed under the supervision of a board. A special committee, on which the teaching staff is largely represented, controls the interior discipline of the college, and the powers of the trustees are strictly defined, while the irresponsible interference of individuals is rendered impossible. The jealousies of rival leaders have been temporarily appeased, if not quenched, and a passable *modus vivendi* has been established. These things Mr. Beck accomplished with good wishes from many, but direct help from few. Unfortunately, his enemies have been of his own household, and there is reason to believe that his illness was aggravated by the treachery of some whom he had most warmly defended. He has left us at a time when we deemed we could not spare him; but his memory will remain, a solace to his friends, and an example to Mahomedans to show how an Englishman could love them.

J. K.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THOMAS BURLEIGH; LONDON, 1899.

1. *Lakhmi, the Rájput's Bride*. A tale of Gujarat in Western India, by ALEXANDER ROGERS (late of the Bombay Civil Service), author of the "Ráni of Jhānsi," and other Eastern works. This tale is written in the familiar metre of the "Lady of the Lake," "Marmion," etc. Her husband, an independent Rájput chief, comes to her father's fort to take home with him his bride, to whom he has, according to Rájput custom, been married in early childhood. On the way they are waylaid by a band of marauding Kolis, and the bride is carried off and held to ransom, which is paid by her father. On the bride's arrival at her future home, the young chief determines on revenge, and sets off with two separate bands, one headed by himself, and another by his younger brother. The latter is attacked at night by the same band of Kolis and severely wounded, and dies of his wounds. Thereupon his widow determines to undergo the rite of *Sati*—that is, burn herself with her husband's body—and of this ceremonial a vivid account is given. Soon after this the bride has a child, which unfortunately is a girl, and the disappointed father attempts its life by rubbing opium on its mother's breasts, to be imbibed with its milk. The mother awakes, and, horrified at the fearful deed, escapes to her father's home with her child by the aid of the Koli chief. Here she is followed by her husband, and on his attempting to take her away by force stabs herself. The tragic finale had better be read in the original.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK.

2. *The "Oxford English Dictionary": a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society*, edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Sections—Vol. iv. : *Germano—Glass-cloth*; vol. v. : *Heel—Hod* and *Hod—Horizontal*. We have frequently referred to the excellence of this magnificent work, which is being published as fast as possible. Section *Heel—Hod* was published in January last, and sections *Germano—Glass-cloth* (forming part of vol. iv.) and *Heel—Hod* (forming part of vol. v.) appeared in April last. Section *Germano—Glass-cloth* contains words to the number of 2,053, compared with Johnson of 190; words illustrated by quotations 1,638, to 150 in Johnson; and the number of illustrative quotations 8,488, to 547 of Johnson. About one-fourth of that section is taken up with the articles on the verbs *get* and *give*, and their derivatives. The large space occupied by these verbs has been necessary, on account of the extreme generality of their fundamental meaning, and the consequent great variety in their specific applications. There is also an unusually large number of words ultimately of Oriental origin, as *gharry*, *ghazal*, *ghazi*, *ghee*, *ghoul*, *ghurry*, and many others. In section *Heel—Hod* there are 3,934 words, compared with 403 of Johnson; words illustrated by quotation 2,929, as compared with 322 of Johnson; and 13,768 illustrative

quotations, to 905 of Johnson. One interesting feature in this section is the laborious treatment of the numerous pronomial words derived from, and connected with, the pronoun *he*. The longest article is that on the adjective *high*, which with its compounds (among which are the historic appellations *High Church*, *High Churchman*, *high-flyer*) occupies no fewer than twenty-six columns. In section *Hod—Horizontal* there are 2,037 words, to 176 in Johnson; 1,444 words illustrated by quotation, to 134 in Johnson; and 7,320 illustrative quotations, to 590 in Johnson. This section exhibits examples of the chief elements of the current English vocabulary. Words of native or Teutonic origin preponderate. Words from the Greek are numerous. "Honey-moon" emerges as a cynical term, "applied to those married persons that love well at first, and decline in affection afterwards; it is hony now, but it will change as the moon." The explanation of words and phrases is frequently amusing, highly interesting, and exhaustive.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.; WESTMINSTER.

3. *Imperial Rule in India, being an Examination of the Principles Proper to the Government of Dependencies*, by THEODORE MORISON. This work is intended to suggest how the transition from one phase of political development to another may be effected. The learned professor, with great acuteness and force, discusses great principles, and applies them specially to our rule in India. He surveys a wide field, including the principle which ought to constitute a permanent nation, the present condition of India with regard to political administration, the freedom of the press, education in schools and universities, and concludes that the only way to weld together the various races, considering their antecedent histories and position, and their different religions, is to promote a sentiment of loyalty to one person—that is, the Empress of India, as the direct ruler, instead of the present formula, the "Government of India." This sentiment, he maintains, is in thorough accordance with the feelings and aspirations of Hindoos and Mussulmans alike, and furnishes the only probable solution of creating and maintaining an Indian nation under the British Crown. He concludes his important and exhaustive discussion in the following words, which ought to be seriously weighed by every statesman who desires to promote the welfare of the people of India, and the unity of the British Empire. He says: "I have argued that we cannot bring a sentiment of nationality into being, except by encouraging the various communities to unite in supporting one central authority, be that central authority common to all India, or distinct for each several province. I have tried to show that if loyalty is based upon devotion to the person of the Empress, it will be readily yielded by the people of India, and that it is our duty to encourage and foster that loyalty by all means in our power, because *salus reipublicæ suprema lex*, and that statesmen are therefore justified in employing all the resources of the commonwealth to create the conditions without which the very existence of the state is precarious. I have tried to show that, in her present stage of development it has been a mistake to apply to India those principles of government which have been

formulated for states co-extensive with nationality, and which affirm that it is not expedient that the resources of the commonwealth should be employed to guide and influence public opinion upon politics. I contend that the reverse is true in India. I have stated that I am opposed to the coercion of opinion, not because it would be ineffectual, but because I am confident that no government could be trusted to use such tremendous powers judiciously; and that I believe that it is expedient that the Government should publicly avow certain political opinions, and should require its officers to hold those opinions as a condition of service, and to spread them among the people, and that honours and emoluments should be exclusively reserved for those who support the official policy. I have further urged that wide publicity should be given to the political views of Government by means of official newspapers in the vernacular; and lastly, that these views should be instilled in the young in all those higher educational institutions which receive a grant-in-aid from the state." In order to grasp the elucidation and bearing of these important tenets, we must refer our readers to this valuable work itself.

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HARPER BROS.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

4. *Enchanted India*, by PRINCE BOJIDAR KARAGEORGEVITCH. Translated from the French by CLARA BELL. This work is published in advance of the edition in the original language. The translator has executed her task exceedingly well, in a clear and terse style. The Prince visited all the chief cities, shrines and temples in India. With a keen, observant eye he describes what he saw, as regards places, and the manners, habits, customs, and costumes of both prince and peasant. As a specimen of his style of description, we quote his impressions of Bombay when leaving by sea: "Bombay towering above the sea in a golden glory—the tall towers and minarets standing out in sharp outlines against the sky, splendid in colour and glow. Far away Malabar Hill and a white speck—the Towers of Silence; Elephanta, like a transparent gem, reflected in the aquamarine coloured water. A rosy light flooded the whole scene with fiery radiance, and then suddenly, with no twilight, darkness blotted out the shape of things, drowning all in purple haze; and there, where India vanished, a white mist rose from the ocean that mirrored the stars."

His first impressions of Calcutta are noted as follows: "An aggressive capital! Palaces of concrete and stucco washed with yellow sand cheek by jowl with commission agencies and hovels, and all without a suspicion of style, not even giving one the impression of a southern city. In the streets thick white dust, an all-prevailing turmoil, as of a fair, is prolonged to the latest hours of night. Red uniforms, and 'young England' tourist suits, ending their career in rags on half-breed coolies,—a wearisome staleness and total effacement of local colour, worse than commonplace; and then, above all, a very strong and nauseating smell of lotus and tallow, with an after-gust of something peppery and acrid." The writer in this manner describes the various scenes which came under his purview in his wide and rapid travelling in India. He has produced a very pleasing, readable and instructive volume.

5. *Japan in Transition*, with maps and illustrations, by STAFFORD RANSOME. The author endeavours by astute observation to clear away many misunderstandings that have existed in the minds of foreigners concerning the Japanese. These misconceptions have steadily developed throughout the time of change since 1868 A.D. They relate chiefly to business transactions, educational, commercial, and other important phases of modern life. Mr. Ransome justly denounces the false criticism of casual visitors who draw their conclusions of national home life from what they see go on around them at the treaty ports. The author is one of the few who have grasped the inherent characteristics of the Japanese. Those who are keen on the intricate problems of the Far East should study attentively Chapters XII. to XVI. They deal with questions which will inevitably be thrashed out at no very distant date. Among the changes and waves of party feeling which have swept over the country since the Restoration, all differences were laid aside in the hour of need, and the declaration of war with China electrified the various factions into unity, while passing through a crisis of uncertain issue.

Mr. Ransome's book is ornamented with new and delightful maps and illustrations, including a gallery of portraiture of the leading men of New Japan.

Progress, pitted against the ancient life of this industrial community, is widely differentiated in these pages. Only those who have studied the people intimately can realize how much they have set aside to gain a recognised place in the comity of nations. Perpetually harassed with advancing signs of a strategic nature on the part of other nations, the steady, almost overhasty proclivity of Japan to keep pace with its needs has involved it in a ceaseless task, and will keep this resolute country for years to come in a state of transition. S.

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KELLEY AND WALSH; SHANGHAI.

6. *Chinese Customs*, by E. H. PARKER, Reader in Chinese at University College, Liverpool, formerly H.B.M.'s Consular Service in China. This is an admirable lecture delivered at the request of the Senate of the University College, Liverpool, embracing the customs of the Chinese in their family relations, births, deaths, marriages, the position of women, morals, religion, natural intelligence, politeness, courage, diet, comfort, luxury, and other habits of social life. The author, having been many years in China, and having visited most of the provinces, has drawn his delineations from real life. The following description of the barber's signboard is fresh and curious: "The Chinese barber carries a red pole attached to his portable furnace, and a brass basin; it is supposed that this pole represents the honours conferred upon the deity or patron—as they worship a god of their own—for in China official residences always have two red poles in front, and even literary graduates profess the right to erect poles before their doors. Thus, it seems possible that the notion of our barbers' poles was derived from China, and probably the gilt knob at the end of our poles represents the brass basin with a notch for the throat." Religious sentiment has very little effect on morality or courage.

Mr. Parker, however, thinks, when encouraged by competent leadership, the Chinese have within them the making of as much bravery as we have ourselves. But there are several reasons why, under their own officers, the Chinese troops should deliberately take the view that

"He who fights and runs away  
May live to fight another day."

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. ; LONDON.

7. *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, by the Right Hon. F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. In his old age the most distinguished Sanskritist in Europe has given us another volume. It is not, however; an offspring of his dotage, but the work of his lifetime, which he now, at the advanced age of seventy-six, gives to the world for the first time. With inimitable modesty he describes this truly great book as consisting of "some of the notes" which have been accumulating in his notebooks for many years. How many years he proceeds to tell us when he says that his first contributions to the study of Indian philosophy were published as far back as 1852. The putting of his "notes" into the form of the present large volume was deferred in consequence of other enterprises which he felt to be of a nature demanding for them more immediate attention.

If a man of the predilections of this illustrious scholar had given us nothing respecting the subject of which this volume treats, it might well have occasioned surprise. That life and health should have been vouchsafed to him long enough to complete such a work, the latest result of ripest attainment and maturest powers, will doubtless be to all students of Indian matters an occasion for thankfulness. The six systems of Aryan philosophy constitute the most striking feature of Hindú learning. Those "Systems" gather up, in effect, all that the great men of that mysterious race have ever placed on record of their cogitations respecting the seen and the unseen; and it is impossible to advance far in the study of the history and thought of the Hindús without feeling that some acquaintance with their celebrated "Six Systems" becomes an imperative necessity. Every pandit one meets with at any of the seats of Hindú learning (Nadiya, Pûna, Banáras), or at any of the sacred places of Hindú pilgrimage (Haridwár, Allahabad, Mathurá, and the rest), speedily bubbles over with elements of these controversies. The "Six Systems" are not things of the past merely; they are also things of the living present. To anyone who would meet the cultured Hindú on anything approaching to equal terms, some acquaintance with these systems and with the controversies which they involve is essential.

The book supplies abundant material in support of the view that European philosophers must not claim originality for their dogmas. The terminology in which those dogmas may find expression, and the forms in which they may be put, are but matters of secondary importance; the root-ideas of all philosophic dogmas, however modern and "new" to ourselves, may be found in the Six Systems of Hindú philosophy. The ground may be unfamiliar to the European student, but it is not "new" ground; the Hindú was there before us. As long ago at least as when David

reigned, and Solomon moralized, and Isaiah and the prophets dreamed dreams and wrote visions, the Rishis and Munis thought out their wondrous systems of philosophy, logic, religion, and rhetoric by the silent-flowing river and in the obscure recesses of jungle and of mountain-cave. To us the thought of all this may be humbling enough, but it proves over again that "there is nothing new under the sun." The power possessed by those ancient scions of that enlightened and keen-witted race of fruitful thinking on abstruse subjects, of abstracting themselves from things present and material, was wonderful, and perhaps unique. The concern for accumulating property or acquiring fame was a *terra incognita* to them. Of such costly civilization as that which in modern times is so exigent and so absorbing to us all they were in happy ignorance. The exuberant forest afforded them food prepared already by Nature, and a handful of water from some sacred living stream was all of refreshment they craved. Their wardrobe consisted of the skin of a leopard, and this alone preserved them while asleep from the dampness of the ground upon which they rested. And the Yogî and Sannyâsi of the present day desire no more of creature-comfort than did the profound schoolmen whose humble followers they delight to be. Their extraordinary self-forgetfulness, and their entire unconcern about the most commonplace considerations of self interest, left them sweetly free for those intellectual pursuits and extraordinary feats of memory, some of the fruits of which are placed within our reach, after more than twenty centuries, in the volume before us.

There is a great deal we should like to have said respecting this volume had space permitted. We will only say that, as a book of reference for missionaries, and as a permanent repertory of information of a kind useful in a very high degree in such a work as this, the book is invaluable. For all such the work might very well be introduced as a text-book for examinations. Those who are interested in India and the Indians (and we account it a matter for thankfulness that their number is so large, and that it is ever on the increase), to whom the Sanskrit language presents an insuperable barrier, will ever feel thankful to Professor Max Müller for this his latest contribution to Indian studies. It places within the reach of all who can read the English language some of the profoundest thoughts that have ever stirred the minds of Hindûs, and the very finest fruits of their reasonings. It has been left to this distinguished German to accomplish this feat for the nation to whose guardianship the overruling Providence has seen fit to place the protection and development of that wonderful land and race.

The index is admirably executed, as is also the table of contents; both are full and helpful. The work includes upwards of 600 pages, with an ably-written preface of more than thirty more. The binding, letterpress, and get-up of the work are worthy of its great theme, and are such as to do credit to all who have had a hand in it.

B.

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SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

8. *Russia on the Pacific and the Siberian Railway*, by VLADIMIR, author of *The China-Japan War*. With maps and illustrations. This valuable

work will dispel many of the illusions in England with respect to the intentions and operations of Russia in Siberia and the Far East. The author acknowledges that he himself had cherished some of those illusions, and says, "As I studied the history of Russia and her expansion in Northern Asia, I had gradually to discard the prejudices and false notions which are generally entertained about Russia in Western Europe. It is my object, therefore, to dispel in the minds of the public the errors which I formerly entertained, and to give a clear idea of Russia's work in the world." The author has most admirably executed his arduous task. He appears to have spared no pains in order to perform his work conscientiously. He studied the language carefully, travelled across the empire from Vladivostok to the frontier of Galicia; he was assisted by a cultured Russian nobleman both in his travels and in his studies, and had ample opportunities to see things from a Russian point of view. He had also carefully examined standard works in Russian, French and English. He has surveyed a large field, the expansion of Russia to the Ural, the conquest of Siberia, the struggle for the Amur and its regions, from the beginning, some two centuries ago, to our own times,—the halt of operations in the East, from the complications and troubles in Europe, the annexation of the Amur regions, against the opposition of China, and afterwards the attacks of the English and French squadrons, during the Crimean War, in the region of the Gulf of Tartary and the Sea of Okhotsk. There is also a most interesting chapter on the development of the Siberian Railway, with its numerous branch lines, and future extension to Vladivostok, and through Manchuria to Newchang and Port Arthur. The volume is enhanced by an appendix, containing the full text of the Treaty of Nertchinsk of 1689,—the Convention of Aigun of 1858,—the Peking Convention of 1860 and relative Protocol,—the Lease of Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan of 1898, and a very minute and copious index.

Some of the views of the author may be gleaned from his concluding remarks on the conquest of Siberia. He says this conquest "is chiefly remarkable for its extraordinary rapidity, contrasting strongly with the general slowness of Russian expansion. Yermak crossed the Ural towards the end of 1581, and the Cossacks reached the Sea of Okhotsk in 1636. Dejneff in his remarkable voyage doubled the East Cape, and discovered the Straits of Behring in 1648. The northern part of the Asiatic continent was traversed in sixty or seventy years. To measure adequately these facts, we must bear in mind that it took the Americans nearly two centuries to reach the Pacific, and nearly a century for the Australians to cross their island." "Another important reflection is that the conquest of Siberia was but the continuation of the gradual expansion of the Russian people, a prolongation of its eastward march. It is curious to notice how unswervingly the race has advanced in the same direction to the east, with a slight trend northwards, from the earliest times."

The means by which this was accomplished was by "the suppression of disorder and violence and the establishment of a strong peaceful government in regions hitherto desolated by tribal feuds, and by raids of the nomads of the steppes. They knew the violent undisciplined character of

the Cossack founders of the Asiatic Empire, and recognised the necessity of exercising control by a system of regular communications. The opening of postal roads, the construction of stations, the settlement of postilions, in the distant region were among the first cares of the Government.

As to Russian progress in the far-distant regions, say of the Amur, there is now "a regular mail line almost along the whole course of the Amur from Strietemsk to Nikolaiefsk, over 2,000 miles, with a branch line up the Ussuri about 540 miles. Another line of steamers also performs the same service, without, however, carrying the mails, and there are besides many other steamers running up the Zeya and the Bureya, 600 miles, for the gold-washing camps on those rivers."

The author considers that "England above every other country in the world, on account of her great commercial and shipping interests, on account of her continuing want of new markets for her goods, should welcome the progress of Russia and encourage her in the task of developing regions hitherto neglected, and which, perhaps, no other nation would have been able to colonize. The Siberian Railway is the most important factor in this work, as it will bring to the sea the produce of regions hitherto entirely closed to the world, and the convenient terminus selected at Ta-lien-wan should meet with universal approval."

We regret that our space will not permit us to give further illustrations of this most interesting and valuable history.

9. *The Founding of South Australia, as recorded in the Journals of Mr. Robert Gouger, First Colonial Secretary*, edited by EDWIN HODDER, author of "History of South Australia," "Life of George Fife Angas," "Memories of New Zealand Life," etc. The "Journals" which Mr. Hodder has edited have been preserved by Mr. Gouger's daughter. Besides the "Journals," other valuable information is incorporated in the volume, all illustrating the trials of early settlers, the difficulties they met with at various times, and the scant encouragement, and even discouragement and opposition, by Home Governments some fifty years ago. Mr. Hodder's estimate of Mr. Gouger's character is summed up in the following sentence: "He was a shrewd, intelligent, observant man, faithful in small duties as in great, conscious always of the obligations of Christianity, combined with high morality; inspired by a strong sense of duty in all the exacting labours he undertook, buoyed up by a yearning aspiration to serve his fellow-creatures, especially the struggling poor; adventurous even to recklessness in any cause he espoused with enthusiasm; prodigal of time and energy in every movement to which he was pledged." Mr. Hodder adds, "This estimate is borne out by one who knows the whole story of his life," and has said that he "was a truly Christian man, with deepest religious convictions, and the very soul of honour." This is all the more important, in view of the unscrupulous charges and actions of an early Governor, Hindmarsh, who was subsequently peremptorily recalled by the Home Government. It is interesting to compare the position of South Australia of that time with the position of the colony in our day, and the interest now shown at home by politicians and others in the progress and welfare of the important dominion of Australasia. The book contains much interesting matter, closing with



the following suggestion, which, no doubt, will yet be carried into effect, rendering honour to whom honour is due. Mr. Hodder asks, "Would it not be well that some day a handsome memorial should adorn the choicest spot in Adelaide, and find a conspicuous place in the Imperial Institute of London, with a group representing the fathers and founders of South Australia, including Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who set forth the principles on which it was to be colonized; Robert Gouger, who created and sustained a permanent interest in the colony, and without whose strenuous labours the scheme would have collapsed; Colonel Towers, who worked vigorously in Parliament to obtain the Act of Parliament to erect it into a British province; and George Fife Angas, who made the working of the Act of Parliament possible?"

10. *The Translation into Urdu of Dr. de Bon's "Civilization des Arabes,"* by SHAMS-UL 'ULAMA, SYED ALI BELGRAMI, B.A., LL.B., etc., Secretary to H.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad's Government in the Public Works Department, Railways and Mines. Some of our readers may have had the opportunity of perusing this work in the original, which now, through its able translation into Urdu, is made accessible to the very people who must naturally take a deep interest in it. It deals with every feature of Arab civilization; their sciences, arts, industries, manufactures, manners, customs, and institutions, and especially also their monuments, which are fully described and represented by numerous and excellent illustrations. The work before us is the careful translation into Urdu, of which he is a master, by Mr. Syed Ali Belgrami, who, we may mention, is also a great Arabic and Persian scholar. Apart from the excellence and value of the translation, which covers 900 pages, and which the author has completed within one year, it is clearly and beautifully printed (by H. Plumbé, Superintendent of the L. A. Press, Madras), and has 142 excellent reproductions of the original illustrations. Three lists are prefixed to the book—a table of contents, a list of notes, and a list of illustrations. There are four useful appendices. The first contains all the proper names in the book, in the original French or English, with their Urdu transliteration or translation. Appendix II. contains a number of words in the European languages derived from the Arabic. Appendix III. gives a number of technical words used in the translation; and Appendix IV. contains a list of the principal works consulted by the author. Mr. Belgrami has spared no efforts, and has achieved a great success. We trust that this valuable work may be introduced in all the libraries and colleges in India, and thus become the means of promoting an accurate knowledge of this most interesting subject—"The Civilization of the Arabs."

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LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON.

11. *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about B.C. 2200, to which are added a series of Letters of other Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon.* The original Babylonian texts, edited from tablets in the British Museum, with English translations, summaries of contents, etc., by L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, London. Vol. I: Introduction

and the Babylonian Texts. This volume, forming part of Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series, contains texts belonging to a period of Babylonian history of which little is definitely known. Recent discoveries, however, throw light upon the internal condition of the Babylonian Empire at a very remote period. Mr. King states that hitherto only five letters by Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon have been published. Of these, three are preserved at Constantinople, one in the Louvre, and one in the British Museum. Attention having been drawn to the contents of these letters, Mr. King was induced to investigate the sources of history of the period. The result has been the identification of fifty-two unpublished letters and despatches of some of the earliest-known Semitic Kings of Babylon, the whole of which are in the British Museum.

The object of the present work is to give the texts of this group, the oldest Babylonian despatches now known, together with transliterations in English characters, translations where possible, and summaries of contents. Mr. King has performed his task with great skill and acuteness; the printing of the texts is beautifully executed. No fewer than seventy inscriptions, obverse and reverse, are produced, with a minute index to registration numbers of the British Museum.

The second volume, which is expected to be ready early next year, giving the translation and necessary notes upon grammar and history, will be looked for with much interest.

12. *Oriental Wit and Wisdom; or, "The Laughable Stories," collected by Mār Gregory John Bar-Hebræus, Maphrian of the East from A.D. 1264 to 1286.* Translated from the Syriac by E. A. WALLACE BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LIT., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Dr. Budge has produced, in a very readable form, a complete translation of the 727 "Laughable Stories" collected by John Abu'l-Faraj, better known as Gregory Bar-Hebræus, the head, or "Maphrian," of the Church in Syria in the latter part of the thirteenth century. These stories, witticisms, maxims, or proverbs, are classified under various heads, as, for example, the sayings of the Greek philosophers; Persian, Indian, Hebrew sages; Christian recluses, Muhammadan Kings, teachers and learned men, Arab ascetics, physicians, wealthy and liberal men, misers, actors and comedians, clowns and simpletons, and other classes of society in the East. Some of these stories are full of wisdom; others are smart, clever, and witty; others indifferent. But, as the compiler says, "it is a book both for the learned, the conceited babblers, and every other man, so that he may choose what is best for himself, and pluck the flowers which please him, for in this way the book will succeed in bringing together the things which are alike each to the other." Dr. Budge has added a valuable preface and introduction, containing an interesting biographical sketch of the venerable compiler, and has put the English reader in possession of the means for forming his own judgment upon the merits of the collection. There is also appended a carefully-prepared and minute index, which will prove highly useful to the English reader.

MACMILLAN AND CO. ; NEW YORK AND LONDON.

13. *The Making of Hawaii: a Study in Social Evolution*, by WILLIAM FREMONT BLACKMAN, Professor in Yale University. This is an elaborate and exhaustive history, purporting not to be a history of the Hawaiian people, but a study of their social, political, and moral development. The value of the work is enhanced by Hawaii having now become a "territory" of the United States. The learned author, in compiling his history, has consulted numerous standard works on anthropo-geography, anthropology, ethnology, demography, the history of various religious systems, travels, biographies, periodicals, Government publications, Hawaiian and American, and miscellaneous papers bearing upon the languages and missionary efforts. The result is that the author has produced a very valuable and interesting work. It is divided into three parts—the first, on the early period before the discovery of the island by Cook; the middle period, on the conquest and visitors at various times; and the third period, giving an account of the religion and morals of the people, the constitutions and laws at various stages, land tenure, education, industries, commerce, the vicissitudes of population, the decay of the original natives, and the several incursions and position of "white men." The group consists of ten islands, of which three are small and uninhabited, the soil greatly varying in fertility—broad tracts of sterile lava, plains requiring irrigation, and valleys of inexhaustible richness. It furnishes trees for the construction of canoes and implements of industry and warfare; bark for the manufacture of cloth; fibre for mats, ropes, and fishing-nets; leaves for the thatching of houses; the varieties of vegetable foods—the sweet potato, the yam, the cocoanut, bread-fruit, and banana. The population at present is 109,020, composed of about 40,000 Hawaiians or part Hawaiians, 3,000 Americans, 2,000 British, 1,400 Germans, a few French and Norwegians, 15,000 Portuguese, 24,000 Japanese, 21,000 Chinese, the remainder composed of various other nationalities.

As to the future, the author's opinion is that the original native will dwindle away; the mixed Hawaiian, though increasing at present, will gradually disappear; Asiatics, when the United States labour laws are applied, are expected to diminish; and hence, unless Europeans or Americans immigrate in considerable numbers, the population will be likely to remain stationary. He concludes by saying that "the social evolution of Hawaii supports the conviction and illustrates the fact that civilization is largely a struggle of races for survival and supremacy, and that in this struggle the decisive forces are psychical and moral." The volume is accompanied with valuable appendices, giving lists of missionaries and those who have held high offices on the islands, tables of races and nationalities, owners of real estates, those engaged in industrial pursuits, the religions according to nationality, receipts, expenditure, public debt, and other financial information, and a copious index. The work commands the earnest attention of the missionary, the philosopher, the philanthropist, and the statesman, as well as leaders in the world of commerce.

METHUEN AND CO. ; LONDON.

14. *The Heart of Asia: a History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the Earliest Times*, by FRANCIS HENRY SKRINE, formerly a member of H.M. Indian Civil Service, and EDWARD DENISON ROSS, PH.D., Professor of Persian at University College, London. This admirable work is divided into two parts; the first contains a history of Central Asia from the earliest times down to Russian occupation, the second the gradual, and, after many struggles, the successful occupation by Russia of this vast region to the frontier of China. The authors have been exceptionally well qualified for their task, as they have personally visited the whole region. Professor Ross, in his historical research, has laid under contribution many Persian, Arabic, and Russian authorities hitherto inaccessible to those unacquainted with the languages, and has thus succeeded for the first time to produce a consecutive history of the events of Central Asia from the earliest times. Mr. Skrine describes the mechanism of government, the gradual development of the railway system and commerce, the social life, and races, illustrated by photographs of the principal peoples and cities on the route of this gigantic undertaking, the longest trunk railway in existence. The work is amply illustrated by numerous sketches, photographs, and two maps, the one showing the region of Central Asia, and the other the progressive advances of Russia. There are also valuable appendices and a copious index.

The authors dispel the notion that Russia has any sinister designs on India, and that the inhabitants of Central Asia are ruled by a "ruthless military system." Prince Gortschakoff, in his circular to the Great Powers dated November 21, 1864, explained the cause of Russian encroachments, which is similar to our experience in India—that is, when civilized states come in contact with wandering and rapacious tribes, it is impossible to live in unity with such neighbours, and hence we must establish a system of control, or see our frontiers made a prey to chronic disorders. The tribes brought under the strong arm of law and order become, in their turn, victims of similar aggression on the part of more distant ones. Thus, the process of subjugation must be repeated until the paramount Power comes into direct contact with one which affords reasonable guarantees that it can maintain order within its own territory. In regard to the policy of the Russian Government, the authors, from personal knowledge and experience, homologate General Kurapatkine's declaration that the object of Russia is "the maintenance of peace, order, and prosperity in every class of the population," and those who have to fill responsible positions are commanded to keep in view "that the assumption of sovereignty over other nationalities must not be attempted without very serious deliberation, inasmuch as such become, on annexation, Russian subjects, children of the Tsar, and invested with every privilege enjoyed by citizens of the empire."

The construction and completion of this grand trunk railway line to Newchwang or Vladivostock will open up possibilities little dreamed of, and it is expected that the journey from Moscow thither will occupy only four days, and from London to Shanghai nine days. Thus, by the peace-

ful and mutual co-operation of the two Great Powers—Great Britain and Russia—a new life may be created in every region of the Far East, unknown wealth and industries exploited, and real civilization promoted. We most strongly commend to our readers this well-written, interesting, and important work.

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JOHN MURRAY; LONDON, 1899

15. *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social* (first and second series), by SIR ALFRED C. LYALL, K.C.B. The literary style of this distinguished writer stands at the head of its class. We know of nothing that surpasses it, even among the best masters of English composition. Full of logical force, at every step it carries conviction, and wins and secures assent. It fulfils every condition of the very highest order of writing. Viewed from the still higher ground of subject-matter, these essays exhibit a fulness of knowledge, a mastery of endless detail, an eagle-eyed comprehensiveness of vision, that make the study of them itself an education. Few men who have spent so large a term of years in the enervating climate of India, and amid the exacting amenities of the higher branches of the administrative service, have retired with such a reserve of intellectual power as these essays display. The tendency of such work is to parochialize the mind—the mind which created these essays is imperial; the tendency of such occupation is to cramp and desiccate the ideas, and to destroy originality—the mind which created these essays combines the resources of maturity with the freshness and bloom of intellectual springtime. There is only one English writer with whom, in these respects, the author can be compared; we allude to the late Cardinal Newman, in whose “*Historical Studies*” we seem to reach the high-water mark of English composition.

Sir Alfred Lyall must have interested himself in India, present as well as past, to an extent to which exceedingly few even of the most highly cultured men of the Indian Civil Service care to do, beset as they are with the countless and unrelenting duties and cares of the magistracy, and the strain of ceaseless responsibility. The essays reveal a vast amount of research in subjects hard and dry, and at the same time a spirit of ever-vigilant inquiry among distinguished natives of the India of his own day and generation. In the result, he brings before us as well the phenomena of the dimmest ages of the mythical past as those of the actual present, and he shows as complete a familiarity with the one class of phenomena as with the other. Among the questions dealt with in these volumes, we may mention the question of the origin of divine myths as they exist in India, witchcraft and non-Christian religions, the influence upon religion of a rise in morality, the formation of some clans and castes in India, our policy in India in respect of religion, the Rájput States of India and the religion of the province of Berár, the relations between the State and religion in China, the origins and interpretations of primitive religions, history and fable, natural religion in India, permanent dominion in Asia, and sundry other subjects.

India is a subject which teems with interest for every man of inquiring temperament; but some men will always be found who, with every oppor-

tunity of observation and inquiry, contrive to learn as little as possible. They seem to have neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, anything beyond what the duties of their daily drudgery compel them to notice. To such men life in India—existence anywhere—can never be anything but a burden; but to every prize won, there are of necessity many blanks in the lottery of life. The base is broader than the apex; it is not given to every man to rise to the actual summit. Sir Alfred Lyall rose to the summit in the noble service which he so well adorned, and he has risen also to the summit in respect of literary and archæological achievement; he is, thus, what our juniors know as “a double first.” There have been men in the service who, in literature as well as in political affairs, have made showy attainments; but we know of none in the whole history of India whose services in all departments have been of a more solid and enduring character.

In one of these essays Sir Alfred Lyall raises the question dealt with many years ago by Professor Max Müller in his famous lecture in Westminster Abbey. On that well-remembered occasion the Professor classed Bráhmaṇism among what he described as “the non-missionary religions.” By the term “Bráhmaṇism,” he appears to have meant what is better known in India as “Hindúism.” Sir Alfred Lyall takes exception to this classification, and, in the sense that Hindúism is really open to the reception of proselytes who collectively “come over,” he is undoubtedly right. People may become Hindús in the sense of being absorbed into the lower castes; they may even become Rájputs by paying to the Bráhmaṇs a sufficient sum of money; but no one could ever become a proselyte to the *Bráhmaṇ* caste—a Bráhmaṇ is “born, not made.” A proselyte to “Bráhmaṇism” is as impossible a phenomenon as that a crow should become a canary. But Sir Alfred Lyall appears to have just missed the Professor’s meaning. We doubt whether this was exactly what Max Müller meant his hearers to understand when he spoke of Bráhmaṇism (that is, Hindúism) being “non-missionary.” We understand him to have meant that Hindúism, unlike Christianity and Muḥammadanism, does not contain any express command to preach and to make disciples. It presents no inducements to its adherents to make converts within the borders of any land (say, India); still less does it enjoin, as those religions do, world-wide acceptance on pain of awful suffering hereafter. Sir Samuel Baker speaks of tribes whom he found in the upper reaches of the White Nile as having not the faintest trace of an idea of religion of any sort or kind whatsoever. Christianity and Islám are authoritatively commissioned to make converts of all such persons, but no such commission can be discovered in the sacred books of the Hindús. Hindúism does not refuse to absorb into its ranks those who form any desire to assimilate to it. So far Sir Alfred Lyall is right: Hindúism, however, is not *aggressive*, in the sense that it goes forth “into all the world” with an authoritative commission to convert the nations; so far Max Müller is right.

Max Müller was at a disadvantage in this inquiry—the disadvantage of not having resided in India. Long residence in that land had given Sir Alfred Lyall the opportunity of learning from personal observation the

facts which he records respecting the accession to Hindúism of aboriginal tribes in the Vindhya and Himálaya mountains. Max Müller spoke strictly according to the sacred books of the Hindús, and reached the only conclusions possible to an untravelled scholar.

As to the question of aggressiveness, we should be careful to define our terms. Islám is self-propagative, in the sense that, whenever its adherents attain political supremacy, the religion of the Qur'án is apt to become the dominant religion, and those who do not become proselytes to it are apt to become the subjects of persecution under the sanction of law. The case of the broad-minded Akbar must not be cited as evidence against this statement, for Akbar has never been accounted by Muḥammadans an orthodox Muslim. Under the ascendancy of the English, however, not only do the peoples of India all enjoy the most perfect religious freedom, but they are even safeguarded against all attempts, on the part of the servants of the Government, to convert them to Christianity. As a Christian Government, therefore, the Government of the Queen is distinctly "non-missionary," and quite the opposite of Muḥammadanism. The only indication in India of the aggressive and self-propagative quality of Christianity is shown in the missionary agencies of the various Churches of Christendom. Max Müller and his critic are both of them right. As between the two of them, the weak point appears to have lain in the essential distinction which exists between "Bráhmaṇism," strictly and properly so called, and "Hindúism," which is much more elastic, expansive, and comprehensive.

The volumes are in every way beautifully executed. Here and there one meets with some very obvious mistake of grammar—probably some mere *lapsus pennæ* of the author's—and in the index (as in the reference to Ward's work on "Hindúism"), which clearly is not a slip of the author's any more than is the confusion between "Maypole" in the index and "Mapole" in the text (p. 16). As an interpretation of the East to the West, the work is a splendid harvest of a life's labour in a difficult field.—B.

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E. PLON, NOURRIT ET CIE.; PARIS.

16. *Essai sur l'Histoire du Japon*, par le MARQUIS DE LA MAZELIÈRE. In this work will be found in a concise and handy form most that is known to us of the history of Japan, from the first traditional love-idyll of *Izanami* and *Izanagi* to the latest political problem of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The author has increased his knowledge by the investigations of former authorities, on matters relating to Japan, and has woven fact and romance into a most agreeable volume. He has discoursed on the arts and sciences, on the waves of religious tendencies, on the political and commercial condition of the people up to the present time. Neither sculptured monuments, nor libraries carved on slabs of stone have aided the historian and antiquarian. Scanty classic literature, and tombs and temples of late centuries have been the chief materials from which to weave the story of the nation. If we want more than he has set down, we must await a native Green or Froude to elucidate and enlarge such works as Mito Komon's *Dai Nihon Shi*, a history of Japan in 240 vols.!

The Marquis de la Mazelière's book will not fail to please all who come across it, especially the Japanese themselves, since his statements are free from eulogistic expressions too often indulged in by modern enthusiasts. His writing is clear, decided, and to the point, yet not wanting in charming descriptive language where legends and touches about Nature make word-painting effective. Copious notes and dates are supplied to every chapter. The chronological list of Emperors and Shoguns, together with well-selected illustrations and a glossary, sustain the interest of the reader. There is hardly a dull page throughout the "Essai."

Commenting on the state of affairs since the Restoration, the author remarks: "La seule différence qui existe entre l'histoire des Japonais et celles des autres nations, est tout à l'honneur des Japonais, ils adoptèrent volontairement la civilisation que les autres nations durent subir." S.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

17. *Saladin, and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, by STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., author of the "Life of Stratford Canning," "The Art of the Saracens," "The Moors of Spain," etc. This is a highly elaborate and interesting contribution to the story of the Crusades, and is executed with that care, learning, and finish for which the nephew of Edward William Lane is already so deservedly distinguished. The work is largely compiled from original (that is, Arabic) sources, as also from the works of European writers—French, English, and Latin—while throughout the work authorities are mentioned in the footnotes, where also much valuable information is given. The table of contents is carefully written, and the index is a full and most helpful guide to the countless details of the work. There are several maps and genealogical lists, and a number of photogravures illustrative of battles and of local scenes. Altogether, it is a good book for students, and we doubt not that this graphic story of the thrilling times of the Crusades will hold a place of its own in the literature of the subject.

Within the last twenty years attempts have been made by Muḥammadan writers to show that "Jihād" is not enjoined in the Qur'ān, and is consequently not a duty binding upon the followers of the Prophet. But it has repeatedly been shown that the precepts of the Qur'ān are fatal to such a view of Muslim duty, and the life-story of the illustrious Sultān who is the subject of this memoir shows clearly that such was not the view held by him. The writers, therefore, who maintain that view do so not in the face of Christian writers only, but also in the face of Saladin, and indeed of all the leaders of Islām, from 'Umar downwards.

The work contains some 400 pages of letter-press, and is handsomely printed. By what would appear to have been some error of the binder, a portion of the third chapter has been inserted twice over, an oversight that might easily be remedied in a subsequent issue.—B.

GRANT RICHARDS; LONDON.

18. *Russia in Asia: A Record and a Study, 1558-1899*, by ALEXIS KRAUSSE. Mr. Krausse is rapidly becoming the Baedeker of Asiatic politics. Last year "China in Decay" was his timely contribution to the



scanty library of works that really throw some light upon one of the two great problems of the East; this year he attacks the other, the question of Russian expansion in Asia, in a portly volume furnished with those rare additions, a full index, and a sufficient number of maps which assist instead of confusing the reader. Russia is not a tourist resort, and therefore I suppose that the dense ignorance of that country which exists in the Anglo-Saxon mind must be held excused, but it is unfortunate that geographical separation should accentuate national prejudices. As Bacon remarked, there is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little, and our public and official dealings with our rival for paramount influence in Asia have been practically confined to the hysterical but futile repetition of the classic phrase "Nous sommes trahis!" whenever a sotnia of Cossacks billeted themselves in some previously unknown village in Central Asia without first asking the permission of the Foreign Office. Mr. Krausse's work will appeal to some mainly as a *catalogue raisonné* of the innumerable "breaches of faith" so dear to the unctuous rectitude of the Russophobe but his object has been, in his own words, "to trace the successive stages of this growth (of Russia in Asia), and to describe the deliberate prosecution of a policy which has in the past materially concerned British interests, and must do so still more largely in the future."

From the incursion of Stroganoff and Yermak into Siberia each forward step of Russia is separately and clearly set out: the absorption of Siberia, Lomakin and Skobelev's campaigns in Turkomania, the conquest of the Khanates, the successive encroachments on Persia, and, finally, the advance towards Peking. The narration of these events constitutes the "Record"; the remaining chapters are the results of the author's "Study," his examination of the reasons and the ethics of the Russian expansion, his verdict on the general results, and a forecast of future developments, especially as concerns this country. That development will be a struggle between Russia and Great Britain. "The end of the growth of Russian empire," says Mr. Krausse, "can only be brought about by her reaching a frontier held, and if need be defended, by a nation stronger than herself." Russia is obviously some way from that frontier yet, and the history of the next century will be largely that of her attempts both to reach and to cross it all along the line, in Turkey, and in Mesopotamia, in Persia and Afghanistan, and further east, in China.

Mr. Krausse's book is invaluable for its clear statement of Russian methods and aims, and whatever excuse there may have been in the past (though to our mind there has been none) for the childish shortsightedness and gullibility of English statesmen where Russia was concerned certainly exists no longer for anyone who will read but this one volume. The author, however—an Englishman, by the way, in spite of his name—rather lays himself open to the charge of inconsistency in the course of his remarks on the nature of the motive power behind Russian policy. He very rightly emphasizes the fact that it is the army and the military Tchinoviks who form the *ruling*, indeed, the only class in Russia, and that the Tsar is "the merest slave of his Ministers"; yet in the same chapter he observes: "There is but one supreme head, one Autocrat of All the

Russias . . . there are no Ministers to reverse their predecessors' policy or to indulge in little fads of their own." Surely Mr. Krausse does not suppose that M. Pobiedonostzeff's ruthless fanaticism is approved by enlightened Russian Ministers—and there are Liberal Ministers even in Russia—or that M. de Witte's ideas on the subject of foreign trade and foreign capital are regarded with favour by the Panslavist party. There is often anything but unanimity among the various Departmental chiefs, and the fact that one powerful Minister can sometimes carry out his pet policy in deliberate defiance of the wishes and opinions of his fellow-Ministers considerably discounts the popular belief, duly recited by Mr. Krausse, in the deliberately conceived and deliberately prosecuted policy of expansion which has descended as an heirloom to successive Tsars since the time of Peter the Great. As an instance we may cite the case of the Trans-Caspian military district with its headquarters at Krasnovodsk, which, as the author states, was created by the advice of Kaufmann and the Grand Duke Michael in 1874. The formation of this district was simply owing to the thirst for medals and glory of the war party; it was strongly opposed by Gortchakoff and the Minister of Finance on political and financial grounds; the scheme was rejected by an Imperial Commission; yet in the end the war party had their way since the Grand Duke talked the Tsar over. There is not a word of this in Mr. Krausse's book, and the reader is left to consider this important step as simply a link in the chain of that deliberate forward policy which the author says has been "during the last 300 years one, not of opportunity, but of set purpose."

The prosecution of this policy, termed by Mr. Krausse "deliberate," would be more fitly described as "inevitable"; deliberate it may have been, in so far as the acquisition of a footing on the open sea was concerned, for that has always been a serious want, but on Mr. Krausse's own showing the absorption of Central Asia in the main served no other end than to give the military class an opportunity of distinguishing itself.

Beyond this, there is little to which exception can be taken. In the chapter on Persia, however, occurs the statement, "Relations between Russia and Persia date from 1732"; this is incorrect; they date from Bariatinsky's mission to Teheran in 1618; moreover Alexis Michailovitch, the father of Peter the Great, sent an envoy thither also. In the same chapter Mr. Krausse records Peter's conquest of Derbend, but says nothing about Russia's subsequent retirement, when by the treaties of Resht, 1732, and Gandja, 1735, she restored all his conquests as far as the Araxes. A reference to Aitchison's "Treaties"\* would have enabled him to avoid both omissions; possibly he has not referred to the work, since it is not included in the bibliography, although the best authority of its kind.

The value of the book is enhanced by the insertion of all the chief Russian treaties with her numerous victims, including ourselves, and the maps could not be bettered. Mr. Krausse has nobly striven to be impartial, we are inclined to think with success, and those whose convictions on the subject of Russia in Asia are what Meredith termed "first

\* C. U. Aitchison. "Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries," vol. x. "Persia and the Persian Gulf."

impressions sealed with later prejudices," will do well to exchange them for others based upon a perusal of the full facts which the author has so admirably set out. L.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY ; LONDON, 1899.

19. *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel ; or, The Hebrew Bible Historiale*, translated for the first time from an unique manuscript in the Bodleian Library by M. GASTER, PH.D. This is the fourth volume (new series) published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund, and consists of a collection of apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphical books dealing with the history of the world from the creation to the time of the death of Judas Maccabæus, together with an introduction, critical notes, a full index, and five facsimiles. The work is printed and published under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and is sold at that society's headquarters, 22, Albemarle Street, London.

The author of this translation prefixes to it a highly elaborate and very learned introduction of 112 pages. This is followed by the translation itself, consisting of 292 pages. Then in about 40 pages more we have a very laborious and minute index, and this is followed by 5 pages of specimens of the original manuscript in the Hebrew current hand, very carefully written. All this, with a brief preface by Dr. Gaster, makes up a volume which for all students of apocryphal literature and Biblical legend will have an interest all its own. The original text of the translation exists in one MS. only, and consists of a collection of old-world tales and legends from Adam downwards, such as are current among Jewish traditionists. In its spirit and tendency the work resembles the legendary lore of mediæval compilations, and is, in fact, the oldest representative of them. The long and elaborate introduction takes up the question of date and authorship, and discusses the question of the place of the composition of the work, and of the relation in which these chronicles stand to the Book of Yashar and to Yosippon (or Josephus). It also takes up each chapter and each text separately, and investigates minutely each paragraph and each smaller incident. In this portion of the work Dr. Gaster adduces parallels both from the Hebrew and the non-Hebrew literatures. He also institutes an inquiry into the probable age of each of the legends, and to shew the historical background of some of them, as also the value of the textual criticism of the other texts which these chronicles contain. No pains have been spared by which the present volume might be made a worthy contribution to the study of Old Testament apocryphal literature. But although the work here translated is called "Chronicles," it is not a chronicle in the strict and proper sense of the word, for it does not relate authentically events which have happened in the history of the human race. It belongs, rather, to that class of legendary history which was so much in vogue in the Middle Ages, and which owes its original conception to the attempt from very ancient times to *embellish* the Bible narratives. Every careful reader of the Bible is struck with what appears to be sometimes an incoherence of narrative, and sometimes a paucity of necessary details. The desire to supply the connection and to fill up the lacunæ led

to tales and legends, which eventually made up much of the apocryphal literature. It is to this desire that a good deal of the pre-Messianic tradition of the Rabbins is to be attributed. The theme is a tempting one, but what we have said will have been sufficient to shew our readers the nature of this curious and valuable contribution to the literature of the apocryphal age, now for the first time supplied to English readers and to such as have not access to the original document. B.

T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON, 1899.

20. *Lord Clive: the Foundation of British Rule in India*, by SIR ALEXANDER JOHN ARBUTHNOT, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., lately a Member of the Council of India, author of a "Memoir of Sir Thomas Munro." To win an empire is one thing, to "build" an empire is another and very different thing. The existence of the genius that secures the one does not necessarily connote the existence of the genius that secures the other; and the question arises whether Clive, winner of an empire, as he undoubtedly was, may correctly be regarded as entitled to a place in a series of volumes devoted to the "Builders of Empire." The claim of Clive to such a position is placed beyond all doubt by the volume before us. Clive was both a soldier born and a born statesman; he was both pre-eminently a soldier and pre-eminently a statesman. Arriving in India in the humble capacity of a mere office copyist, the circumstances in which he found himself elicited the qualities which, in the comparatively short period of a dozen years, raised him to the exalted position in which the historian of British India finds him. Clive was a living illustration of the essential difference between the politician (who may be merely parochial) and the statesman (who is of necessity a philosopher). Mournful enough is it to read of the inability of the Court of Directors to do other than misconstrue the acts and motives of so great a man and so loyal a servant. But in this experience Clive was but the first of a long series of men who—on a smaller scale, to be sure, but yet just as bitterly—have been misunderstood by men of the parochial calibre and temperament, who have, unhappily, occupied positions of control. The story has, from a variety of causes, been oft repeated in the experience of Anglo-Indians. To this extent there has, from the first, been a fatuity attending all our life in India. The evil appears to have arisen mainly—and this from Clive downwards—from the tendency of Anglo-Indians to indulge in the ungentlemanly vice of detraction of absent parties, and from the tendency of untravelled persons in England to lend credence to traducers, without adopting the salutary practice of bringing the accuser and his victim face to face. Clive was not by any means the only man who has been subjected to this parochial and wrong-headed policy, and who has in consequence lost confidence in his employers, and lost heart in his work.

In estimating the work of a great Anglo-Indian and his claim to the distinction of being a "Builder of Greater Britain," it has always to be borne in mind that the empire would never have been built or won but for the co-operation and good behaviour of a large number of persons whose very names and acts of individual prowess are now unknown and lost

beyond hope of recovery. Yet just as even the very best of generals must fail to score a triumph unless he be backed up by the loyalty and obedience of his subordinates, so, on the other hand, the most loyal of supporters would surely fail of their purpose in the absence of brave and skilful leadership. And so it comes to pass that Clive's battles and Clive's triumphs are achievements which include a large number of men of proved ability, bravery, and heroism, whose very names are for ever lost to the annalist. But heroism is apt to beget heroism, and the whole thrilling story that surrounds the name of Clive shows what splendid achievements may be compassed by the will force of a single effective man. Clive knew not at the first that he was inch by inch winning an empire. No such idea, we may be sure, entered his mind, or formed part of his programme. He had at first to fight to live, and in consequence he lived to fight; and this was, in the beginning, the whole of the story. He did not commence his Indian career with any ready-made scheme: he went out to earn his bread in the unpretending capacity of a mere junior clerk in an office; but he was somewhat pugnacious withal—quite capable of holding his own—and ready on occasion to take reprisals when he found himself an object of insult. The hour was come, and the man: India was now to be delivered from internecine strife, incessant and age-long, and was now at length to be brought, by the initiative of Clive's commanding genius, under wise and just government.

The printing of this work is executed in a manner beyond all praise. The style of composition is that of a practised statesman; it is simple and graphic, and prepossessing in a high degree. The unwieldy materials which constitute the subject-matter of the story have been so completely mastered and digested that the resultant work has all the charm of connected narrative and historical romance. There are few stories connected with our great dependency that are so fascinating as the story of Clive, and Sir Alexander Arbuthnot has shown himself well fitted for the difficult and delicate task of presenting that story to the historical student. Clive's was a checkered career, and his procedure was not without serious blemishes. This but proves that he was neither less than a man, nor more. But the issue often trembles in the balance. The facts are often such as most of us are sufficiently familiar with in our experience of the drudgery of Anglo-Indian life. But with all this, the central figure in the story is so captivating that the experiences of the soldier-life of Clive are invested with a halo of romance.

A work of some 300 pages must necessarily be moderate-sized for so great a theme. There clearly was no attempt to write a *big* book; but it is great, nevertheless, and it forms an admirable digest of the measures by which India was won for the Crown. The history of a great man means the history of his times, and must needs be also a history of the public movements which formed the sphere in which he operated. Many names of the history-makers of a century and a half ago come naturally into the story of Clive, and the life-work of many whose names are "as familiar in our ears as household words" forms the warp and woof of this thrilling narrative.—B.

EFFINGHAM WILSON; LONDON.

21. *The Rudiments of the Currency Question, explaining the Principal Terms used in the Controversy*, by WILLIAM PEARSE. An able paper, describing in a clear and popular way, as the title indicates, the various terms used in discussions on the question of the currency. It consists of two parts—(1) the explanation of terms; and (2) the mode of operation of the Banks of England and France, the financial systems of Germany, the United States, Canada, and Australia. In the appendix there are a chronological table and a full and useful index. We cordially recommend this pamphlet to all who desire to acquire an insight into this very important subject.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Indian Congressmen*, by G. PARAMASWARAN PILLAI, B.A., editor *Madras Standard* (Price Current Press, Madras). An excellent memoir, with illustrations, of the founders and leaders of the National Congress movement, in a permanent form, from contributions from time to time in the *Madras Standard*.

*Australian Sketches made on Tour*, by HARRY FURNISS (Ward, Lock and Co., London, New York, and Melbourne). A racy description and humorous illustrations of men and manners of Australia, giving a better insight of all sorts and conditions of men in ten minutes than in as many hours of hard, prosaic reading.

*Chenna and his Friends, Hindu and Christian*, by EDWIN LEWIS (The Religious Tract Society, London). A well-written and well-illustrated history by a Christian missionary in India of his mission-work during thirty-two years among Hindus at Bellary. He acquired an intimate knowledge of Kanarese, Telugu, and Hindustani, and spent much time in connection with the Telugu version of the Scriptures under the British and Foreign Bible Society. The volume also contains an interesting memoir of this devoted and much-esteemed missionary.

*Notes on Money and International Exchanges*, by Sir J. B. PHEAR (London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange). A very useful explanation as to what constitutes money, and its uses, and the causes which regulate rates of exchange, especially between England and India.

*Rhodesia* (The British South Africa Company, St. Swithin's Lane, London). An exceedingly well-got-up sketch-book, with maps, supplying information as to "where Rhodesia is," "how we can get there," "what the country is like," and "what is being done there." The illustrations of places, buildings, mines, railway-stations, and other objects of interest are excellent. It is somewhat astonishing that magnificent buildings should have been erected in so short a period as five years, as well as the construction of railways, telegraphs, electric lighting, telephones, and other symbols of modern civilization.

*The Excellence of Zoroastrianism* (the religion of the Parsis), by ARDESHIR N. BILIMORIA and DINSHAH D. ALPAIVALA. (Bombay: Printed at the Jamsetjee Nesserwanjee Petit Parsi Orphanage Captain Printing Works.) A very useful compilation from about 150 authors, arranged in

alphabetical order, of the opinions of eminent non-Zoroastrian authors on the religious system called Zoroastrianism, including sacred books, rites and ceremonies. There is a minute index of subjects, and a list of the authors from whom the compilation has been made, as well as their works. The volume exhibits much research and great industry on the part of the two compilers.

*China and the Chinese*, by EDMUND PLAUCHUT. Translated and edited by MRS. ARTHUR BELL (N. D'ANVERS), author of *The Elementary History of Art, Life of Gainsborough, The Science Ladders*, etc. With 58 illustrations. (Hurst and Blackett, London.) The author has spent many years in China, and his brightly written little book forms the first of the series known as the "Livres d'or de la Science," published by Messrs. Schleicher Frères, Paris. It gives in a concise form an account of the Chinese, past and present, their religion, literature and customs. It touches slightly upon subjects at present engaging the attention of diplomatists on the future of China, and will be found convenient and pleasant reading to the general public. It is well printed and well illustrated.

*A Record of Indian Fevers*, by MAJOR D. B. SPENCER, Indian Medical Service (Bengal), with sixteen temperature charts. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co.; London: W. Thacker and Co., Creed Lane, E.C.). The author, having special opportunities of studying Indian fevers in hospital and private practices, has given his experience in two publications—the one giving hints on their etiology, diagnosis, and treatment; the other well-printed and distinct temperature charts. The author expresses the opinion that, with a little care and method, an early and correct diagnosis can be formed in nearly every case by strict attention to previous history, the temperature chart, and the clinical features of the case, even without the aid of a microscope. He has also given his views on what he terms "tropical fever"—a fever not mentioned either in the nomenclature of disease or in text-books. He is of opinion that this fever is one of the unclassified fevers of India, distinct in its etiology from either malarial or true enteric fever, although clinically it may resemble either. He also brings to the knowledge of the medical profession one or two drugs which he thinks of great value in the treatment of malarial fevers.

*British Policy in South Africa*, by SPENCER WILKINSON. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co.) A republication, in a handy form, of able articles which appeared in the *Morning Post* in July last. There are seven chapters, titled: (1) "The Problem"; (2) "Origin of South Africa's Troubles"; (3) "Orders and Counter-Orders during 1877-1881"; (4) "Peace by Surrender"; (5) "Natural History of Revolution"; (6) "Bloemfontein"; (7) "The Straightforward Policy." A clear, concise, and valuable statement of the case.

*The Urdu Self-Instructor; or, Atalig-i-Urdu*, by MAULVI LAIQ AHMAD, accountant and translator to the *Morning Post*, Delhi. This work, in a simple and plain form, unique of its kind, is admirably adapted to assist Europeans, civil and military, to acquire readily a knowledge of the vernacular, so as to enable them in a very short time to speak, read, and write the language of the people. Its usefulness has been tested by officers

of the army, inspectors of schools, and many other civilians holding literary and important posts in India.

*Elementi di Grammatica Turca Osmanli, con paradigmi, cretostomazia e glossario*, by DR. LUIGI BONELLI, Professor of Turkish at the Royal Oriental Institute of Naples (Ulrico Hoepli, Milan, 1899). This manual is the best we have hitherto seen in Italian on the Turkish language as it is actually spoken. It is very lucidly written, and will prove a great boon to students.

*Ein Deutscher Buddhist. Biographische Skizze*, by DR. ARTHUR PFUNGST (Stuttgart, Fr. Frommanns Verlag, G. Haefel; London, Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street). Dr. Pfungst gives a short and interesting biographical sketch of the late Dr. Theodore Shultze, and enumerates his various philosophical and other writings, chiefly bearing on Buddhism as compared with Christianity. His object in writing his short work is to call attention to Dr. Shultze's publications, whom he considers one of the most eminent thinkers of our time.

*The Transvaal Crisis: Latest Map of South Africa*, September, 1899. Published at the office of *South Africa*, 39, Old Broad Street, London, E.C. A clear and well-defined map, showing the boundaries of Cape Colony, Basuto Land, Orange Free State, South African Republic, Rhodesia, the principal towns and settlements, railways (completed, or in course of construction, or projected), and the various rivers and routes. The map is in a handy form and will prove very useful at the present time.

*Map of the Transvaal and Surrounding Countries*. By W. and A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh. Constructed with the view of illustrating the Transvaal Question. It gives also an outline of the surrounding colonies or countries, miniature maps of the World, South Africa and Africa; also Cape Town and environs, Table Bay, Johannesburg, Durban and Port Natal. In letterpress there is a short history of the Transvaal, its mode of government, its population, and statistics of the output of gold since 1884. Highly useful for present discussions.

We acknowledge with thanks the reception of the following books and pamphlets from the Royal University of Upsala: *Die Bischari-Sprache tû-bedäwîe in Nordost-Afrika*, by Herman Almkvist (vol. i., 1881; vol. ii., 1885);—*Codices Arabici, Persici et Turcici bibliothecæ Regiæ Universitatis Upsaliensis*, by C. J. Tornberg (Lundæ, 1849);—*Gregorii Bar Hebræi in Psalmos Scholiorum Specimen*, by Otto Fridericus Tullberg (Upsala, 1842);—*Den Mosaiska Tiden: Undersökning af hvad som är mosaiskt i dekalogerna och förbundsbooken*, by Sven Herner (Lund, 1899);—*Kritisk undersökning af den Masoretiska Texten till Profeten Hoseas Bok*, by Karl Loftman (Linköping, 1894);—*Malawika et Agnimitra*, by Dr. O. F. Tullberg (Bonn on Rhine, 1840);—*Öfversättning och Kommentar till Profeten Hoseas Bok*, by Karl Loftman (Linköping, 1896);—*Gregorii Bar Hebræi in Jesaiam Scholia*, by O. F. Tullberg (Upsala, 1842);—*Catalogus Centuriæ Librorum Rarissimorum manuscript. et partim impressorum, Arabicorum, Persicorum, Turcicorum, Græcorum, Latinorum, etc.: qua anno MDCCC. bibliothecam publicam academice Upsalensis auxit et exornavit*;—*Mechilta Bo pesachtraktaten med*



textkritiska noter, parallelställen ur Talmud ock midrasch samt inledning ock glossar, by Herman Almkvist (Lund, 1892);—*Weddäsê Märjâm ein Äthiopischer lobgesang an Maria*, by Karl Fries (Upsala, 1892);—*Die inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, by K. G. A. Nordlander (Leipzig, 1896);—*Orientalistkongressen i Stockholm-Kristiania*, by K. U. Nylander (Upsala, 1890);—*Der dialekt der sogenannten Shâhbâzgarhi-redaktion der vierzehn edikte des Königs Açoka*, by K. F. Johansson, Part II. (Upsala, 1894);—*Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris No. 1*, by Dr. K. Piehl (Vienna, 1882);—*Bibliotheca Upsaliensis Historia*, by Olavo. O. Celsio (Upsala, 1745);—*Studia Etymologica*, by Persson (Upsala, 1886);—*Ijôbs Bok öfversatt från grundspråket*, by J. T. Nordling (Upsala, 1877);—*Kleine Beiträge zur Lexikographie des Vulgararabischen*, I., by H. Almkvist (Leide, 1891);—*Upsala Universitets Arsskrift*, 1876, *Philosophi, Språkvetenskap och historiska vetenskaper*, I.;—*Die altindischen nominalcomposita ihrer betoning nach untersucht: Erste abtheilung—Die Betonung der copulativen und der determinativen composita*, by J. N. Reuter (Helsingfors, 1891);—*Entwurf einer Uralappischen Lautlehre*, by K. B. Wiklund (Helsingfors, 1896);—*Die sprache der contracte Nabû-Nâ'ids, mit berücksichtigung der Contracte Nebukadrezars und Cyrus*, by K. L. Tallqvist (Helsingfors, 1890);—*Études sur la prononciation russe*, by J. A. Lundell, Part I.;—*Om Uppkomsten af gamla testamentets Kanon*, by E. Stave (Upsala, 1894);—*Zur geschichte des vokalismus der ersten silbe im Wotjakischen mit Rücksicht auf das Syrjänische*, by Y. Wichmann (Helsingfors, 1897);—*Mordvinische Lautlehre*, by H. Paasonen (Helsingfors, 1893);—*De Allmännd Vokalförändringarna i Hebreiska språket*, by J. T. Nordling (Upsala, 1879);—*Den svaga verbbildningen i Hebreiskan*, by J. T. Nordling (Upsala, 1879);—*Om Kasusändelserna i Hebraiskan*, by K. U. Nylander (Upsala, 1882);—*Prepositionem ה: s etymologi och användning i Hebreiskan*, by A. Hacklin (Upsala, 1886);—*Abraham, det Israelitiska folkets Religiöse och nationale stamfader en Historisk-Kritisk undersökning*, by Karl Esscher (Lund, 1892);—*Studier öfver de Semitiska ljuden W och Y*, by O. E. Lindberg (Lund, 1893);—*Inledning till Psaltaren, isagogiskt-exegetisk afhandling*, by K. U. Nylander (Upsala, 1894);—*Den Israelitiska Kultens Centralisation*, by S. A. Fries (Upsala, 1895);—*Jesajan Ennustukset, Luvvissa XXIV-XXVII*, by J. I. Gummerus (Helsingissä, 1893);—*Om Prepositionen ו i bibelhebreiskan*, by Olof Molin (Upsala, 1893);—*Grammatisk Studie öfver Santal-Språket*, by E. Heuman (Copenhagen, 1892);—*Ein Samaritanischer brief an König Oscar*, by H. Almkvist (Upsala, 1897);—*Gittin i den Babyloniska Talmud, Perec I.*, by Simon Aberstén (Gottenburg, 1896);—*Ein Türkisches Dragoman-Diplom, and Nachträgliche bemerkungen zum Türkischen Dragoman-Diplom*, by H. Almkvist (Upsala, 1894-95);—*Ladtsê, en profet bland hedningarne, med ett försök till Kortfattad biblisk grundläggning för Hans system*, by Adolf Kolmodin (Stockholm, 1888);—*Strödda anmärkningar rörande Indien och Sanskrit-litteraturen*, by O. F. Tullberg (Upsala, 1839);—*Om det Sanskritiska Ahâm*, by H. Almkvist (Upsala, 1879);—*Bidrag till Rigvedas Tolkning*, by K. F. Johansson (Upsala, 1897);—*Om och Ur den Arabiske geografen 'Idrisi*, by R. A. Brandel (Upsala, 1894);—*Ibn Batûtahs resa genom Maghrib*, by H. Almqvist

(Upsala, 1866);—*Prooemium et specimen lexici synonymici arabici Attha 'alibii*, by J. Seligmann (Upsala, 1863);—*Jahjâ bin 'Abd-el-mu'tî ez-zâwâwî's dikt Ed-Durra el-Alfije fî 'Ilm el-'Arabîje*, by K. V. Zetterstéen (Leipzig, 1895);—*Jahjâ bin 'Abd el-mu'ti ez-zâwawî's Kitab el-Fusûl*, chap. i.-ii., by E. Sjögreen (Leipzig, 1899);—*Sphinx, revue critique, embrassant le domaine entiere de l'Egyptologie*, by Karl Piehl (vol. i., Parts I.-IV.; vol. ii., Parts I.-IV.; vol. iii., Part I.); also *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*The Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (Edward Arnold);—*Le Bulletin des Somaires* (Paris);—The American weekly, *Public Opinion* (New York);—*The Canadian Gazette*, London;—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes Rendus des séances de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—from George Newnes, Limited, London: the last three numbers of *The Strand Magazine*;—*The Century Book of Gardening* (Part I.);—*Tit-Bits'* Citizens' Library—*The Romance of the Life-Boat*;—*The Wide World* (July, August, and September);—*Woman's Life*;—*The Captain* (Part V.);—*Through the Dark Continent* (Parts XIV.—XVII.);—*The Royal Atlas of England and Wales* (Parts IX.—XI.);—*The Arabian Nights* (Parts III.—VI.);—*Round the Coast* (Part IX.);—*The Russki Turkestan* (No. 1), a new magazine published by the proprietors of the *Turkestan Gazette*, at Tashkend (in Russian);—تحرير المرأة; or *The Emancipation of Women (in Egypt)*, printed at Cairo in Arabic, 1899 (see article elsewhere);—*The North American Review*, July, August, September, 1899 (New York);—*The American Journal of Semitic Sciences and Literatures* (Vol. XV., No. 4), continuing "Hebraica" (The University of Chicago Press, and Luzac and Co., London);—*The Madras Review*, August, 1899 (Minerva Press, Madras);—*Revue Tunisienne*, organe de l'Institut de Carthage, July, 1899 (Tunis);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 16 Series, No. 11 (Lisbon);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Indian Dialogues; or, Side-Lights on the Administration of Justice in the North-Western Provinces, India* (Thacker and Co., Calcutta and Bombay; Messrs. Stevens and Sons, Limited, Chancery Lane, London);—*The Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yerrowda for 1898* (Bombay, Government Central Press);—*Archæological Survey of India: The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*, by E. W. Smith, M.R.A.S., Part IV. (Government Press, Allahabad);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Bombay, Education Society's Press; London, Kegan, Paul and Co., 1899);—*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1899 (Albemarle Street, London);—*A Study of the Omaha Tribe: The Import of the Totem*, by Alice C. Fletcher (Smithsonian Report, Washington, 1899);—*Report of the Syndicate for 1898 of the Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge, University Press, 1899);—*Palestine Exploration Fund*, July, 1899 (38, Conduit Street, London, W).

For want of space we regret we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue : *Studia Sinaitica*, No. VII. ; — *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles*, by M. D. Gibson, M.R.A.S. (London, C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, 1899) ; — *China*, by Harold E. Gorst (London, Sands and Co., 1899) ; — *Bulawayo Up-to-date, being a General Sketch of Rhodesia*, by W. H. Wills and J. Hall, jun., (London, Simpkin Marshall, 1899).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—A gang of Waziris attacked a convoy marching from Jandola to Dera Ismail Khan. One sepoy and one Waziri were wounded.

The Viceroy has been engaged in settling numerous details connected with the frontier.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The main conclusion of the Committee on Indian Currency was as follows:—"We are in favour of making the British sovereign a legal tender, and a current coin in India. The Indian mints should be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions such as govern the three Australian branches of the Royal Mint. The result would be that, under identical conditions, the sovereign would be coined and would circulate both at home and in India."

The financial member, Mr. C. Dawkins, on September 8, introduced the Currency Bill, and stated that gold would be made a legal tender, and fixing the rupee at 16d. The Government considered that the success of this policy would be assured by the ordinary operation of trade. There would be no obligation to give gold for rupees, but the Government would keep in view the attainment of practical convertibility at the earliest possible moment. Mr. Dawkins also stated that the existing restrictions on the operations of the Presidency banks were susceptible of relaxation, and that the Government had decided to institute an exhaustive investigation of the whole question. The Viceroy confirmed this statement, and expressed the opinion that reform lay in the amalgamation of the Presidency banks into a State bank with a large capital.

At the Railway Conference held at Simla on August 15, Lord Curzon pointed out some of the benefits accruing from the conference, and indicated means by which he thought it could be made of still greater service. He intended to propose to the Indian Government that fuller publicity should, in future, be given to the decisions arrived at.

The riots resulting from the faction dispute between the Marawars and the Shanars in the Tinnevely District have caused considerable trouble to the authorities. The official report states that in the attack on Sivakasi 887 houses were burned, 31 persons killed and wounded, and 93 arrests were made.

The native sub-editor of the *Gurakhi*, a newspaper published in Marathi at Bombay, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for publishing seditious articles.

The annual financial returns relating to irrigation show that productive works paid  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on a capital of 3,10,00,000 rupees, and irrigated 10,500,000 acres. The total gain to the taxpayer was over  $7\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees from productive works, and nearly 12 crores from all works.

The British exports to India, the Straits, and the Far East for the six months ending June 30 amounted to £22,862,744, against £23,501,442, or a decrease of £638,698.

The total amount of currency notes in circulation in India on August 15 was Rs. 29,39,44,265, against a total reserve in gold and silver of Rs. 19,39,44,319. The gold reserve amounted to Rs. 3,83,50,786.

A partial failure of the monsoon caused anxiety. The rainfall has been injuriously excessive in Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and some parts of Central India, whilst the Deccan, Berar, Gujarat, and a portion of the Central Provinces were almost without rain during July, which is usually the wettest month. During August rain fell in the rice districts of the Central Provinces, and at the beginning of September rains improved the crop outlook in Western India, there having been a general fall of from two to three inches. In the southern Deccan it is expected there will be a good second crop, thus removing any anxiety as to famine. The cotton crop in Gujarat and parts of Kathiawar has been much benefited, and the *rabi* crops are looking well.

The plague still exists in the Bombay Presidency, especially at Poona, in the Kholapur State, and Belgaum district. A few cases in Mysore, Calcutta, and Hyderabad. Karachi and the Panjab are quite free.

Rain has materially improved the prospects in Haidarabad, Madras, Mysore and Bombay Deccan, but they are still gloomy in a portion of the North-Western and Central Provinces.

BURMA.—Mr. Scott, of the Burma-Chinese Boundary Commission, has successfully concluded his mission in Yun-nan.

Nine of the principal leaders in the recent rising in Chinland have surrendered unconditionally, and the few still at large are expected to follow shortly.

The Burma Chief Court will probably be established early in 1900. There will be four judges instead of three as formerly proposed.

AFGHANISTAN.—Afghan reports refer to disturbances at Kabul between regiments taking different sides with the factional following of the Amir's sons, Habibullah Khan and Nasrullah Khan. It is stated that there is now a sharp enmity between the two Princes.

BALUCHISTAN.—The Indian Government has arranged to administer the Nushki district in perpetuity in consideration of the payment of an annual rent of Rs. 9,000 to the Khan of Khelat.

An attack was made on August 25 on the Murree Brewery at Quetta. Four men were killed and sixteen wounded. The object seems to have been robbery.

PERSIA.—The quarantine regulations at the port of Bushire have been withdrawn.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Porte and Russia have agreed each to appoint a permanent commission on the Kurdish frontier to prevent or settle border troubles.

There is a prospect of an amalgamation between an English and a German syndicate, each of whom have long been seeking a concession for a railway to Baghdad.

The situation in Yemen remains very critical, and disaffection is extending. The sympathy of the Muhammadans in Syria, India, Egypt and elsewhere is stated to be with the revolutionary movement.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Russian Government has proclaimed that Talien-wan shall be a free port after the completion of the railway to that place.

The British Chargé d'affaires and the Russian Minister in Peking have agreed to refer to arbitration the difficulty which arose out of the Russian declaration, that the title of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Co. to some property held by them in the Russian concession at Han-Kau was not valid.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.—Fighting still continues between the Filipinos and the American forces which have captured Calamba to the south of Laguna de Bay. It is contemplated to increase General Otis' force to at least 40,000 men.

SAMOA.—Complete success attended the efforts made by the Commissioners for the pacification of the island. Mr. Osborn, the American Consul-General, has been appointed to act as Chief Justice in the place of Mr. Chambers, who has left for San Francisco.

The summary of the text of the new Constitution is as follows: The kingship is abolished. An Administrator to be appointed by the three Powers acting together. He is to be assisted by a Council, of which three members will be representatives, and he will have complete control of the Executive. The Constitution provides for the establishment of a Native Assembly, which is to deliberate upon all matters which concern the natives alone. A High Court of Justice is to be established, whose head, the Chief Justice of Samoa, will be appointed in the same way as the Administrator. The High Court will also act as a Court of Appeal.

CHINA.—The Tsung-li-Yamên has admitted the right of the Peking Syndicate to construct railways in Shan-si and Ho-nan, and to effect a connection by rail with the Yang-tzse Valley.

The Maritime Customs revenue for the first half-year of 1899, compared with that of 1898, shows an increase of 215,894 taels.

The envoys recently sent from Peking to Tokio with a view, as was alleged, to negotiate for an alliance, left Tokio without apparently accomplishing anything. The Russian Minister at Peking has addressed a note to the Tsung-li-Yamên, warning them that the conclusion of an alliance between China and Japan would give great offence to Russia, and that the consequences would be most serious to China.

The plague continues to rage in Hong Kong.

Piracy and brigandage are rampant in the Kwang provinces, and trade is paralyzed.

The Franco-Chinese agreement for the construction of the Lung-chau-Nan-ning Railway has been signed. The Chinese Government provides 3,100,000 taels of the capital. The work must be completed in three years, and only French materials and French engineers are to be employed.

JAPAN.—Japan is quietly and steadily at work increasing her influence in Peking, and the *rapprochement* with China is becoming closer. Two Japanese officers have inspected the fortifications and reviewed 12,000 Chinese troops at Shan-hai-kwan. The Japanese press, however, ridicules the idea of an alliance.

Twenty-four additional ports have been opened to foreign trade under the new treaties.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—The Company have decided formally to take

over and occupy the Tambunan country, in the interior of British North Borneo. This country is about 500 miles in extent, with about 25,000 inhabitants.

SIAM.—The Government has decided not to raise a foreign loan at present, but the survey for the Chingmai Railway is to be commenced immediately by the Royal Railway Department, under the management of a Board of Control. About 3,000,000 ticals will continue to be allowed annually for railway construction.

EGYPT, LOWER.—Owing to strict sanitary measures, the plague at Alexandria has been limited to a comparatively few cases.

The new Patriarch of the Catholic Coptic Church, nominated by the Pope, has been enthroned at Alexandria.

All Egypt has been declared infected with the foot-and-mouth disease.

The amount encashed by the Caisse of the Egyptian Public Debt for the Unified Debt during August last was £246,000, and for the Preference Debt £63,000. The amounts encashed since the payment of the last coupons are £1,029,000 and £379,000 respectively.

SUDAN.—According to the latest reports the Khalifa is at Gebel Gedir.

A Mahdist insurrection was attempted on the Blue Nile, instigated by the Khalifa Muhammad Sherif and two sons of the Mahdi, who were living under supervision at the village of Shukaba. Hearing that communications were going on between Sherif and an Arab tribe, the officer commanding the district surrounded the village with troops. They were met by a warm fire, and charged by the Dervishes. In the fight that ensued, Muhammad Sherif and the Mahdi's two sons were killed, fifty-five prisoners taken, and the village burned.

Lord Kitchener drove the last rivet in the Atbara Bridge on August 26, and declared it open. In a speech delivered on the occasion, he said that he hoped that within four months he would be enabled to open the railway-station at Khartum.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—At a public meeting held at Mombasa on August 24, it was decided to make an appeal to the Lord Mayor of London to open a fund for the relief of the sufferers from the famine in British East Africa. The distress, both from famine and small-pox, is appalling. Rinderpest has attacked the cattle in the interior.

Sir H. H. Johnston left England on September 1 for Uganda, as Special Commissioner, Commander-in-Chief, and Consul-General, to inquire into the former methods of administration. On reaching the borders of Uganda, he will proceed to visit every important district in the Protectorate.

TRANSVAAL.—Since the Bloemfontein Conference early in June last, various despatches have been received from and sent to the Transvaal Government. Sir Alfred Milner, in his despatch of August 23, states that his suggestion of a five years' franchise "ought to be judged in the spirit and not in the letter," but it must be a *bonâ fide* franchise, enabling the Outlanders to become citizens, "exactly on the same footing as the old citizens." The uncertainty of the conditions made by Mr. Kruger led to a further proposal to inquire as to the effect of those conditions. Besides, however, the question of the franchise, there were other important matters

to be considered, such as (1) the position of British Indians; (2) that of the coloured subjects; (3) the claim of British subjects to equal rights; and (4) other grievances. Immediately after the Cabinet Council, held on September 8, the Colonial Secretary sent another despatch in which he repudiated Mr. Kruger's view that the Transvaal possesses the status of a "sovereign international State," and therefore was unable to consider any proposals conditionally on the acceptance of this view.

On September 15 Mr. Kruger replied to the effect that the proposal of a five years' franchise was withdrawn, and that the original proposal of a seven years' franchise be substituted; he denies that a suggestion was made that the English language might be used in the Raads by the contemplated representatives of Outlanders; he abides by the Convention of 1884, and his interpretation of it, which rejected the suzerainty. To meet eventualities troops have been despatched to the Cape from England and India.

**BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.**—The troops of the Protectorate are being concentrated at Chikala and Boma for the punishment of the Argura and Yao chiefs, south-east of Lake Nyasa on the Portuguese border. These chiefs have caused much trouble by raids into British Nyasaland. Portuguese troops are also co-operating with us.

**CAPE COLONY.**—The following is the Budget statement of Mr. Merriman, the Treasurer: The imports into South Africa for the year reached £23,780,000, and the exports £25,713,000, of which Cape Colony's share was £7,951,000. The gold export amounted to £15,700,000, and the export of diamonds to £4,566,000. The railways had yielded 4½ per cent. The total amount of the colony's loans was £32,474,000, against which £4,200,000 was held as a sinking fund in interest-paying bonds. The stability of the country is shown by the fact that financial institutions with a turnover of £50,000,000 annually had no bad debts, despite three years of depression.

The Imperial telegraph line has been opened to Maseru, the capital of Basutoland.

The Basuto chief, Masupha, who was the cause of the Basuto War in 1880, is dead.

The postage from Great Britain to the Cape was reduced on September 1 last to one penny per half-ounce instead of twopence halfpenny.

General Sir F. Forestier-Walker, the new Commander-in-Chief, arrived in Cape Town on September 6, and met with an enthusiastic reception.

**WEST AFRICA: NIGER.**—The eldest son of the deposed King of Benin has surrendered. Ologboshi has been captured by Lieutenant Gabbett and executed. The country is settling down.

The three important chiefs—Bai Bureh, Niagua, and Bai Sherbro, who were arrested in connection with the late SIERRA LEONE rising, have been deported to Accra.

**AFRICA: RHODESIA.**—Sir A. Milner has assented to the Customs Act without modification; it became operative in August 1 last for stocks, which were taxed last January.

**CANADA.**—The Dominion's contribution to the Pacific Cable has been sanctioned.



The details are being settled of a proposal made by Great Britain and accepted in principle by the Washington Government for the disposal of the Alaska boundary question, in leasing, by the United States to Canada, a port on the Lynn Canal. If a final agreement is reached, Canada will get access by sea to the Yukon, while the United States will retain their territorial rights.

The revenue of the Government railway system for the year is \$3,738,331 and the expenditure is \$3,675,636, leaving a surplus of \$62,645.

Parliament closed on August 11 after a somewhat barren Session. The appropriations for the current year amount to \$52,000,000, the largest in the history of the country.

The Customs revenue for August last is the largest on record, being \$500,000 in excess of the receipts for the same month last year.

The aggregate import and export trade for last year was \$319,988,774, as against \$304,475,736 in the previous year. For goods entered for consumption and exports the return for this year reaches \$311,278,013, as against \$294,350,689.

The financial returns for the last fiscal year show that the revenue was \$46,796,368, and the expenditure \$41,760,342. The expenditure on capital account was \$9,130,771. The net debt stands at \$266,000,000, the increase during the year being \$1,770,000.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the past fiscal year was the largest in the history of the colony, except that of 1893. There is a marked increase in prosperity.

The Budget presented in July last showed a deficit of \$33,000 for the past year. There is an estimated surplus of \$30,000 for the current year. An impost of 10 per cent. will be levied upon the existing duties. The colony will increase the issue of silver coin by \$100,000, upon which a profit of \$20,000 yearly for two years is expected.

WEST INDIES.—A terrible hurricane swept over the West Indies on August 8. Montserrat was completely devastated, every building was destroyed or damaged, and over seventy deaths reported. Serious damage was also done at St. Kitts and Nevis. It was especially severe at Puerto Rico, where towns were literally destroyed. The injury to crops was very great; 100,000 people were rendered homeless, and over a thousand deaths occurred.

The revenue of the colony of Jamaica for the first quarter of the financial year shows an increase of £30,000 over last year. The outlook is improving generally.

AUSTRALIA: VICTORIA.—The *referendum* on the Commonwealth Bill has resulted in an enormous majority in favour of federation. On the occasion of the presentation of the address by both Houses of the Victorian Parliament to the Queen, praying that the Commonwealth Bill be passed into law by the Imperial Parliament, Lord Brassey welcomed the address as marking a turning-point in Australian history, and anticipated great advantages from federation.

The Old-age Pensions Bill, introduced by Sir George Turner, provides that persons of 65 and upwards shall receive an amount which shall make up their total income to 7s. a week.

The revenue for the past year amounted to £7,378,842, being £471,000 in excess of the estimate. The expenditure amounted to £7,027,415, leaving a surplus of £351,427. The revenue for the current year is estimated at £7,156,225, and the expenditure at £7,136,755. Out of last year's surplus £50,000 will be devoted towards meeting the last instalment of Treasury bonds, due in 1903, £200,000 for repaying money temporarily taken from trust funds in previous years, and the remaining £100,000 will be utilized for various needful public works.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the past year amounted to £2,478,811, against £2,754,746 in the previous year.

The revenue for August last amounted to £236,273, showing an increase of £18,000 as compared with August, 1898, and of £65,500 as compared with July.

The increase in the gold yield in the first seven months of the current year, compared with last year, amounts to 300,053 oz.

TASMANIA.—The *referendum* on the Commonwealth Bill resulted in a very large majority in favour of federation.

The House of Assembly has declared in favour of woman suffrage.

QUEENSLAND.—The Treasury returns for the past year show that the revenue amounted to £4,174,000, an increase of £406,000 as compared with the previous year. The expenditure amounted to £4,024,000, being £277,000 more than last year.

The returns for August last show that the revenue amounted to £338,000, as compared with £289,000 in the corresponding month of last year. The expenditure amounted to £228,000, against £207,000 last year. The excess of revenue over expenditure during July and August was £255,000.

There was a large majority in favour of federation, and Mr. Dickson, the Premier, has moved an address to the Queen praying for the adoption of the Commonwealth Bill.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Assembly passed a resolution on August 3, for an address to the Queen, praying for the adoption of the Commonwealth Bill.

The railway receipts during the past year amounted to £1,058,000, while the working expenses were £616,000.

AUSTRALIA: NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the past year amounts to £9,754,185, showing an increase of £272,000 as compared with the year ended June 30, 1898.

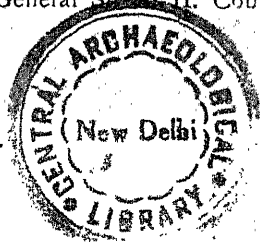
The Government was defeated on September 7 upon a vote of censure in the Legislative Assembly by 78 votes to 40.

NEW ZEALAND.—The public accounts for the quarter ending June 30 last show a net increase of £96,000. The expenditure for public works includes £63,000 for railways, £47,000 for roads, £23,000 for public buildings, £21,000 for the Colonial Defence Contingent, and £95,000 for the purchase of native lands.

Last year's total production of gold and silver was valued at £1,114,000, and that of other minerals, including coal, £1,069,000. The value of the chief mineral productions for the year 1898 was £2,182,000. The total value of gold, silver, coal, and other minerals exported up to the end of 1898 was £70,767,500.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded this quarter of:—Major-General J. C. Hay, C.B. (Afghan war 1878-80, Boer war 1881);—Lieut.-General D. Macfarlan, C.B., Royal (late Bengal) Artillery (Indian Mutiny, N.-W. Frontier 1864, Afghan war 1878-80);—Sir Archibald Mitchie, K.C.M.G., Q.C., for some time Agent-General for the colony of Victoria;—Major-General Stockwell, C.B. (Crimea, Afghan war 1878-80, Egypt 1882);—Admiral Sir W. W. Hornby;—Commander A. T. Denham, R.N. (Baltic, West Indies, China);—Lieutenant C. W. Baillie, R.N., formerly Director of Nautical Studies at Yedo, Japan;—Lieut.-Colonel G. G. Beazley, late 83rd Foot (West Coast of Africa 1855);—Major T. J. Francis (Sikh war, Panjab 1848-49);—Major-General A. Paterson, late Bengal S.C. (Panjab 1848-49, Burma 1853, Bhootan 1865-66, Afghanistan 1878-79);—Smarthasiromani Jogender Nath Bhattacharya, M.A., D.L., a celebrated Indian author;—Lieut.-Colonel Sir Raja Ram Singh, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief Kashmir forces;—Major F. J. M. Mason, of the old East India Company's staff;—Colonel G. F. Vesey (Baltic 1854, Mopla outbreak 1873);—Lieut.-General J. Fulton, R.A. (Panjab 1848-49, Delhi 1857);—Major-General E. Tyrwhitt, late Bengal S.C. (Gwalior campaign 1843, Panjab 1848-49, N.-W. Frontier and Mutiny);—General Sir A. T. Cotton, K.C.S.I. (Burmese war 1824-26);—Amin Said Pasha, Egyptian Under-Secretary for Justice;—General W. G. Suther, C.B., R.M. (Syria 1840-41, Japan 1864-66);—Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, a distinguished judge;—Vice-Admiral R. D. White, C.B., (Syria, West Coast of Africa, Baltic, etc.);—General C. Scott-Elliot, late Madras S.C. (Burma 1852-53, Mutiny campaign);—Sir J. D. Edgar, Speaker of the Dominion House of Commons;—Colonel Trent-Stoughton, formerly 68th Regt. (New Zealand war 1864-66);—Sir D. P. Chalmers, late Chief Justice of British Guiana;—Commander G. R. Bell (Baltic, Crimea, Maori war 1860-61);—Marshal Mohsin Khan, Mushir-ed-Dowleh, Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs;—Brigade-Surgeon G. Y. Hunter, Indian Medical Service (ret.);—Fleet-Paymaster J. A. Bell (Egypt 1882, Sudan 1884);—Major E. V. Hughes, R.H.A. (Afghan war 1878-79, Egypt 1882);—Colonel C. James, late Madras S.C. (Central India 1861);—Lieut.-Colonel J. J. Greene, R.A.M.C. (Afghan war 1878-80, Nile expedition 1884-85, Sudan frontier 1885-86);—Deputy-Surgeon-General Erskine, M.D., of the R.A.M.D. (Crimea and India);—R. MacWharrie, M.D., Hon. Deputy Inspector-General of Army Hospitals (Canton 1857);—Captain A. J. Loftus, F.R.G.S., late Hydrographer and Surveyor in the Siamese Government Service;—Professor A. Socin, of Leipzig, one of the foremost Semitic scholars of Germany;—His Holiness Sophronius, Pope and Patriarch of Egypt;—Colonel R. Bruce, C.B. (Crimea, Indian campaign 1857-58);—Dr. Peter Petersen, of Bombay, a well-known Sanscrit scholar;—Mr. Theodore Beck, principal of the Muhammadan College of Aligarh;—General G. H. Mackinnon, C.B. (Kaffir War, 1846-47);—Major W. Lonsdale (Afghan War, 1878-79);—Lieut.-General Sir A. H. Cobbe (Delhi, 1857; Afghan War, 1878-79).

*September 20.*





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